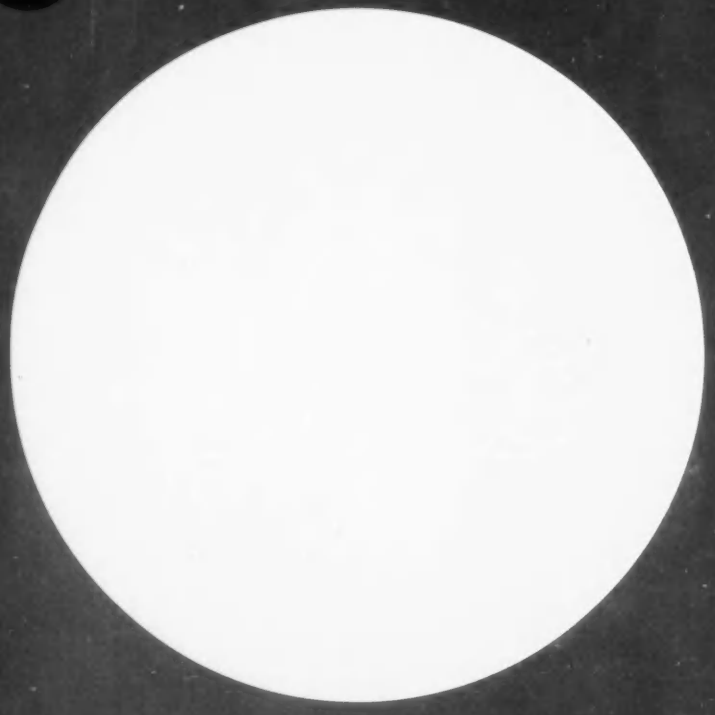
Worklife

U.S. Department of Labor
Employment and Training Administration
August 1976



carpenters
cement masons
electricians
plumbers
sheet metal workers
heating technicians
refrigeration technicians
glaziers
factory workers

SOLAR ENERGY: Potential Powerhouse For Jobs

Worklife

U.S. Department of Labor
Employment and Training Administration
August 1976 Vol. 1 No. 8

Sunny Side Up

On a midsummer day in 1939, way back in the days of unreconstructed journalism, a city editor of *The Washington Post* looked from a second-floor window of the timeworn newspaper office building close to the famous corner of 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW., and saw a man frying an egg on the concrete sidewalk.

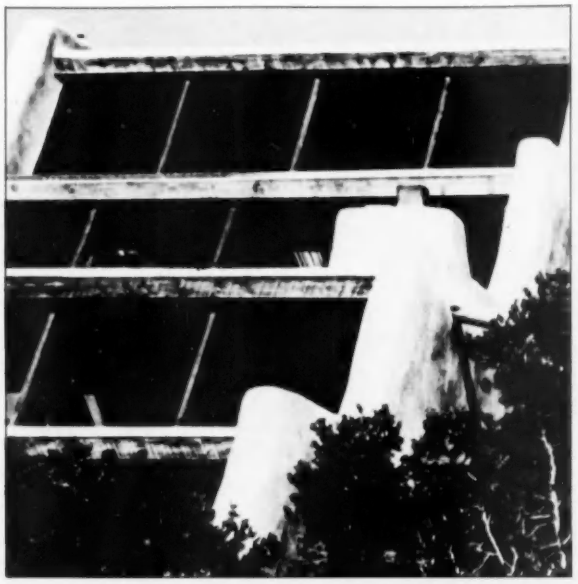
The expression "investigative reporting" was unknown in those hoary days before Woodward and Bernstein, but the principle was faithfully practiced in all matters, large or small. So, it was no surprise when a reporter and a photographer were assigned to cover the happening and a neat little picture-story was produced to give *Post* readers a good idea of how hot it was downtown.

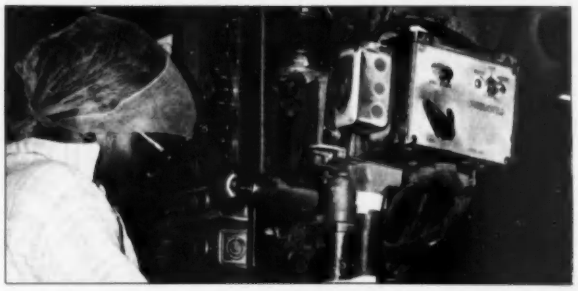
The feature did not specifically say: The man was cooking with solar energy. Yet, it might have. But solar energy was not in mind then any more than was space exploration, which was treated in the Buck Rogers strip. Meanwhile, men have been to the moon and back, Buck Rogers is eclipsed, the city editor is retired, and frying eggs on the sidewalk is not news.

What is news is the possibility of a solar energy revolution. Already, a heating industry based on using the sun's roaring hydrogen-filled furnace appears on the horizon. The prospects of new jobs being created with the future acceptance of the technology and its impact on many professions are projected in "Solar Energy: Potential Powerhouse for Jobs," on page 2 of this issue of WORKLIFE.

Dawning solar technologies, some engineers say, may convert the power of the earth's nearest star into a multibillion-dollar-a-day business by the year 2000, when next semester's college freshmen will still be in their forties.

Walter Wood





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COVER: Ann Meekins, Division of Graphic Services, U.S. Department of Labor

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WORKLIFE magazine is the official monthly journal of the Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. It is distributed without charge to personnel of the national and regional Employment and Training Administration offices and, by special arrangement, to State employment security agencies. It is also available on subscription at $15.30 a year (single copies $1.30) from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. In countries other than the United States, Canada, and Mexico, annual subscription is $19.15. The Secretary of Labor has determined that the publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business required by law of this Department. Use of funds for printing this periodical has been approved by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget through June 30, 1978.

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CHANGES OF ADDRESS: Send new address, including ZIP code, to Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Please also include old address label from WORKLIFE.

Controlled circulation postage paid at Washington, D.C.

Tilted solar collector (diagram D) heats home and provides hot water.
Insulating glass cover for solar collecting chamber keeps heat from escaping.
Evergreens on northwest, north, and northeast exposures minimize winter winds.
Plenum's heat collectors face west and south.
Flue for backup furnace
Recessed windows admit sun in winter but limit it in summer (diagram B).
Mirror above doorway reflects winter sun down to melt ice on stoop (diagram C).
Insulated and weather-stripped garage door
Low-level vents let cool air from shaded ground areas or cool night air enter the house in summer.

SOLAR ENERGY: Potential Powerhouse For Jobs

by Tom McCallion

All of us have had some experience with solar energy. These experiences may have consisted of touching the still hot stone surface of a downtown building on a cool morning, or of transporting water in hoses or pipes over sun-baked fields to our Dad's victory or inflation garden, only to have gallon after gallon of hot water spill out on parched plants. For most of us, involvement with applied solar energy probably began and ended there.

But an industry based on the use of solar energy for heating buildings appears to be on the horizon, and with the acceptance of this new technology (in addition to the related technology which uses solar cells, or photovoltaic cells, to convert sunlight directly into electricity) a solar energy corps will be added to the work force.

Through the first half of the 20th century, the availability, convenience, and economy of fossil fuels made the necessity of turning to other forms of energy a distant problem. Interest in solar energy was left to a small number of researchers, engineers, and others with scientific interests, including tinkerers. Surprisingly, these individuals found that, of all known sources of heat, solar energy was the most simple to handle and use. One of these men, Dr. Harry E. Thomason, converted his home in suburban Washington, D.C. to solar heating in 1959. This system continues to supply most of the heat needed for this house. The Thomason system, like most others, utilizes the following three components:

- Solar collectors, directed at an angle to the sun
- Storage batteries of water or stone and
- Pumps or fans for circulating the warmed air or water through the collector into a storage unit through the household distribution system.

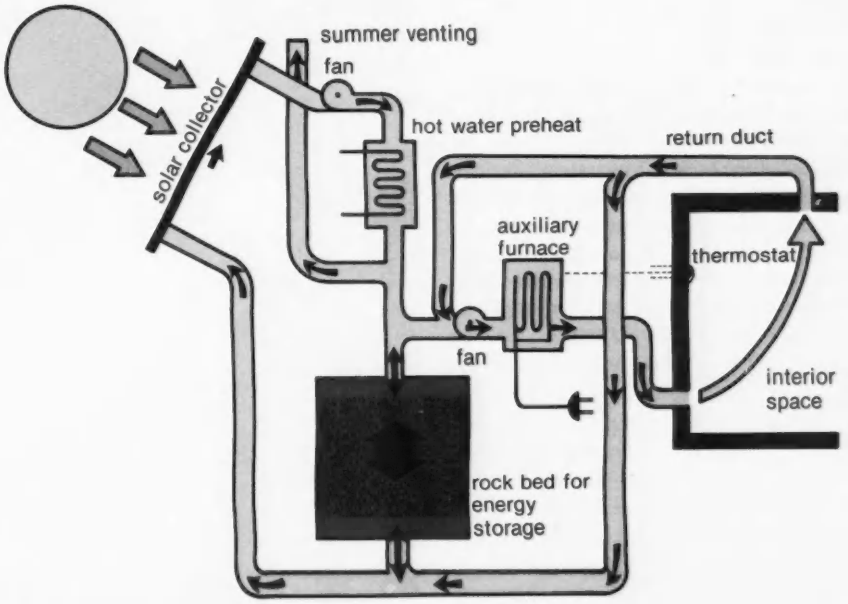
Sometimes these components are combined into one unit called a solar furnace. The heat generated by solar systems (in their present state of development) is at times supplemented by heat from fossil fuel furnaces during periods of prolonged cloudiness.

In an article about a recent solar exposition sponsored by the Solar Energy Industries Association (SEIA) and the Federal Energy Administration in Washington, D.C., *The Washington Post* observed:

> "Solar heating may well be one of America's coming growth industries with the inflated costs of other fuels, but it still isn't easy to find a solar heating engineer to install a system on your house."

The development of this industry is similar in many ways to the early development of the automotive industry. At the Washington meeting, representatives of about 50 industrial organizations involved in solar research, development, sales, and equipment installation discussed their materials much as their counterparts at early automotive gatherings must have done. One firm was developing and selling solar collector plates, and another collector cover materials. At similar industry meetings in early automotive days, discussions were probably about types of carburetors or radiators. Where these industries differ, however, is that, once started, the automotive industry progressed rapidly, primarily because of the auto's superiority over the horse and the cost-cutting assembly line methods developed by Henry Ford and later adopted by others.

At the present time, a solar furnace can cost up to ten times as much as a small oil, gas, or electric furnace. This cost is high because the solar components and the systems are essentially handmade. Today's prices for solar heating units range from $3,000 to $10,000, depending on the size of the house.



Air-type collector system developed by Crowther/Solar Group, Denver, Colo.

Tom McCallion is a manpower development specialist in the Employment and Training Administration.

SOLAR ENERGY

The solar industry will undoubtedly begin to expand when either of the following two circumstances occur:

- Solar equipment begins to be mass-produced.
- Energy costs—petroleum, gas, and electricity—rise to a point where the investment in solar equipment becomes economical over a reasonable period of time.

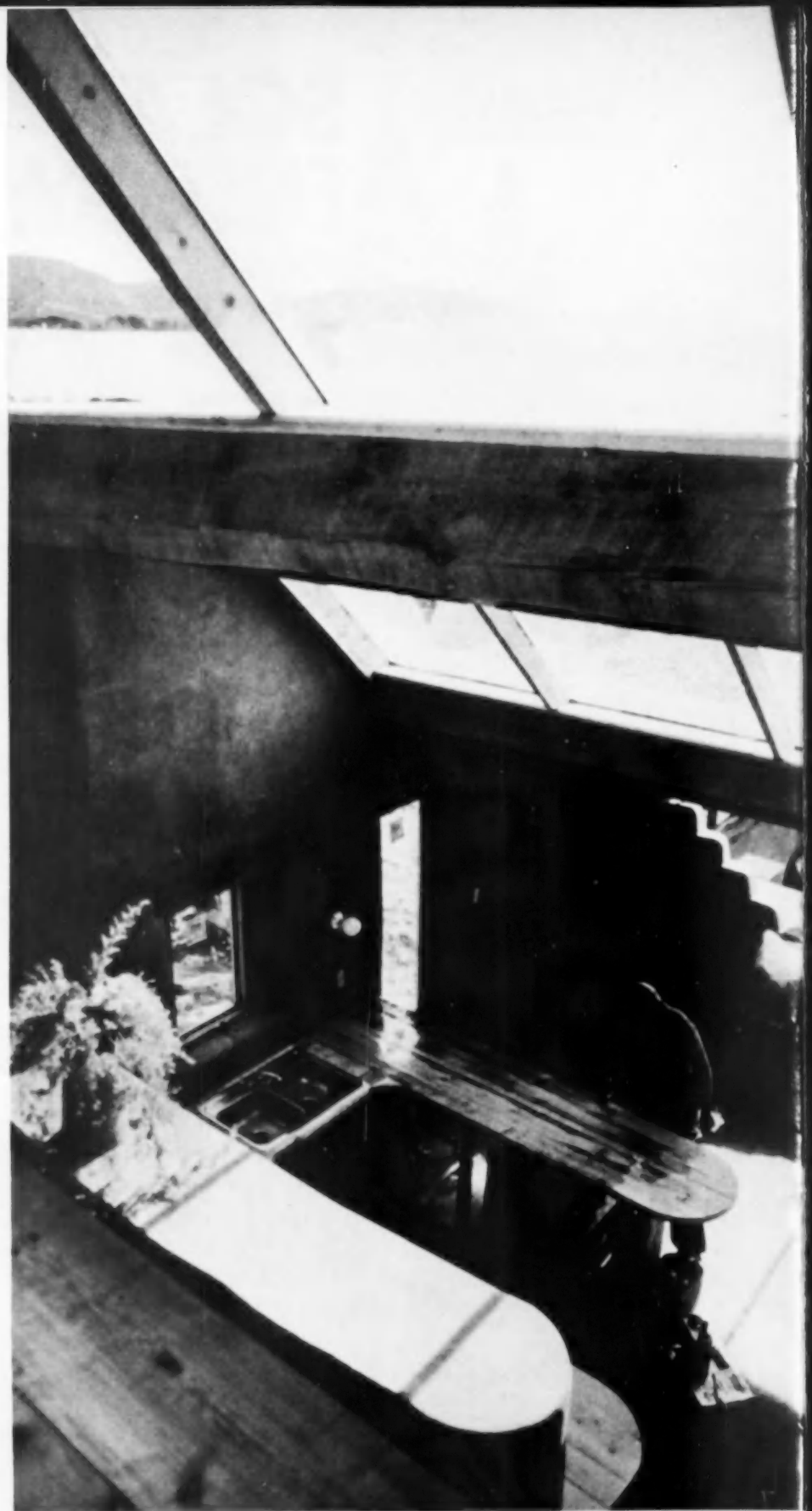
Energy Price Trends
1967=100

Year	Fuel Oil and Coal	Gas and Electricity
1960	89.2	98.6
1965	94.6	99.4
1968	103.1	100.9
1969	105.6	102.8
1970	110.1	107.3
1971	117.5	114.7
1972	118.5	120.5
1973	136.0	126.4
1974 (to Oct.)	225.5	151.5

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

It is difficult to predict the number of new house or business place installations and conversions which will be involved or how quickly they will take place. But because of the present low state of the art, it is anticipated that only a small percentage of the homes that will be built within the next 5 years will utilize the new technology. However, if the trend toward smaller houses continues, the number might be higher, since smaller structures can use smaller and less costly solar units than are needed for larger houses.

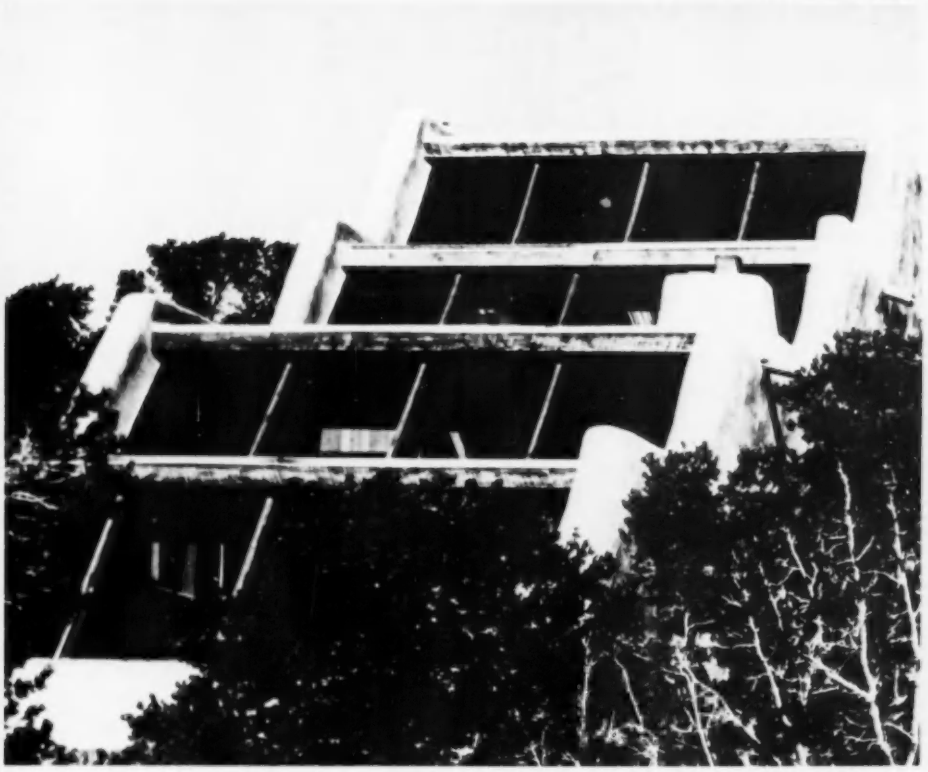
It is difficult to find experts who are willing to predict the extent of the development of the industry over the next several years. However, a group of solar scientists at MIT stated on February 28, 1976 that "... the best prospects for immediate solar contributions include architectural use of sunlight, supplying hot



Nat Shipman, from *New Mexico* Magazine

Sun warms kitchen of New Mexico home which features a pueblo-style fireplace.

Nat Shipman from *New Mexico* Magazine



Striking and livable solar house, designed by architect David Wright, blends in with adobe neighbors in Santa Fe.

water, space heating, and conversion of wood and waste to methane gas and methane."

In some areas of the country, the second factor now applies. Raymond H. Fields of the Energy Research and Development Administration said recently, "Heating domestic hot water with solar energy is competitive with heating it by electricity and may be cheaper in the Northeast where electric costs are high." Heating buildings is competitive with electric heat, but not with gas and oil. But in combination with a heat pump, as in a demonstration house in Colorado Springs, Colo., it is economic."

It does seem that the solar energy industry is on the threshold of a significant expansion, and it is possible that, as *The Washington Post* observed, it won't be easy to find someone to install a heating system when many homeowners make the decision in the next few years to install solar systems. Congress is also providing this year increased funding to stimulate research into the use of this natural resource. An energy bill passed in December 1975 provides $115 million for solar energy research, and includes $48 million for solar heating and cooling. The President, in describing the bill, commented "This legislation . . . puts into place the first elements of a comprehensive national energy policy." Also, Congress in the near future may approve funds to support solar energy either in the form of industry subsidies or tax incentives for individuals converting systems or building new houses with solar systems.

Energy prices have gone up dramatically in the last 8 years and probably will continue to climb. This possibility and the probable deregulation of natural gas with any inflationary impact, could continue to contribute to the rapid growth of the industry.

Employment Implications

With the acceptance of this new technology, some industries will expand into new areas—insulation, electrical auxiliary components, sheet metal, fabrications. Some solar units will be constructed onsite, of prefabricated parts; other units will be shipped, completely assembled, directly from factories for placement in backyards, in basements, or on roofs. As an example of this, the Champion Mobile Home Co. of Dryden, Mich. announced recently that it is beginning in-plant construction of a prefabricated solar unit. Most houses will need to have their present insulation upgraded to acceptable solar standards by adding storm windows, doors, and 18 inches of roof insulation; in addition, solar systems will need to be tied into present hot air or water heating systems. These changes in housing to accommodate solar equipment have introduced the term *retrofitting* into the language of housing construction.

New job titles may be created in several trades and professions for experts in this field; for example, there will be a demand for solar engineers who devote 100 percent of their time to assisting industry and homeowners with their heating needs. What is more likely is that those trades and professions now involved in the home heating industry will assume new roles and responsibilities for retrofitting. The following skilled workers will be directly involved in the industry: carpenters; cement masons; electricians; plumbers; sheet metal workers; air-conditioning, heating, and refrigeration technicians; glaziers; and crane operators; as well as factory workers with assorted skills.

The advent of solar heating will have an even more significant impact on many of the professions, including architecture, law, sales, real estate and appraisal, assessment, zoning, and consumer protection. These professions will be involved in breaking new ground. For example, policy and laws will need to be developed concerning the right of access to the sun and the prevention of solar obstructions. Conventional house roof designs will in some cases need to be modified to accommodate recommended angles for collections, while whole sales forces will need to be trained to understand the capabilities and limitations of solar technology.

There are many firms, most of them small at present, involved in the development of solar technology. The Solar Energy Industries Association now has 223 members, including 38 solar contractors; some of the other member firms have only engineering design capabilities. SEIA feels that if there is no direct Federal involvement in the form of incentives, the full impact of solarization will not be felt until

SOLAR ENERGY

the year 2000; however, as mentioned before, it seems that even in the absence of these direct payments, mass production and the anticipated dramatic increases in the price of fossil energy will complete this process long before the 21st century.

It would seem that the process could be accelerated, even in the absence of subsidies, by a media campaign which would:

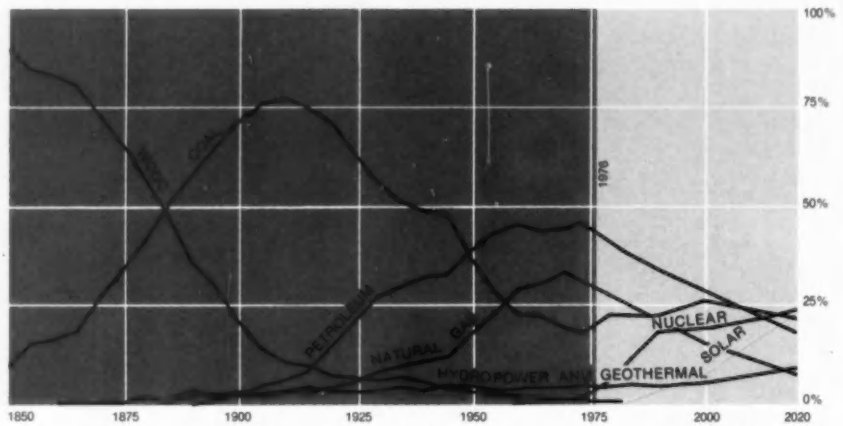
- Make the public more aware of solar energy.
- Report on the capabilities of solar units now in production.
- Show the advantages of insulation on fuel savings to home heating costs in preparation for solar heating at a later date.
- Give information about local zoning ordinances.
- Encourage local governments to begin to:
  - Set building code standards.
  - Adopt special local incentive policies for the use of solar energy.
  - Begin issuing licenses to firms that will sell equipment.
  - Begin training and retraining individuals who will work in the field, introducing courses in high schools and vocational schools; sponsoring on-the-job training with eligible businesses; introducing the topic to appropriate professionals, including attorneys, building contractors, and legislators.
  - Rewrite tax laws to help spread out the initial cost of installing solar energy equipment.

Some economists are now predicting that the recordmaking unemployment levels experienced during the last few years will continue downward. However, many question whether these levels will drop to the pre-1975 rates. Large numbers of presently unemployed workers and a significant number of young workers entering the labor market combine to require a growth level of 12 million new jobs in the next 5 years if we are to reach pre-1973 unemployment levels.

Many economists, job analysts, and others are concerned whether this needed growth will take place. As a substitute for the growth of real jobs, some are advocating the creation of additional large federally subsidized public works and employment programs which would reduce unemployment to pre-1975 rates. On the other hand, many persons would prefer the development of real jobs to meet these needs.

One of the most hopeful signs now observable in the job market is the emergence of new technologies such as solar energy. Although many questions remain concerning when conditions will merge to make it an economical substitute for fossil fuels, it is certain that if this new field develops to a full potential, it will become a major employer and a significant source of needed new jobs. □

U.S. Energy Sources



None supplying more than 25 percent of the total, 6 energy sources may power the Nation by 2020.

New Sun Power Unit

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) announced in June that engineers have developed a solar energy home unit that will produce both heat and electricity and may pay for itself in smaller utility bills.

The MIT statement said that the National Patent Development Corporation plans to market the home model next year. The New York-based firm financed the research for the solar energy converter, which was unveiled on the MIT campus in Cambridge, Mass.

The new unit is operated by solar cells similar to those that power equipment in space satellites. MIT engineers said a team of engineers devised a system of mirrors to concentrate the sunlight entering each cell up to 1,000 times, another step forward in harvesting sun power economically.

News & Notes

A $55.9 million grant to the Senior Community Service Employment Program (SCSEP) to expand its program from 12,400 to 15,000 subsidized part-time community service jobs for low-income senior citizens 55 and over was announced by Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery, Jr. SCSEP provides annual physical, personal and job-related counseling, job training, and --in some cases--placement into regular, unsubsidized jobs. Wages average $2.40 an hour. Five national organizations which conduct the program--Green Thumb, Inc. of the National Farmers Union, the National Council on the Aging, the National Council of Senior Citizens, the National Retired Teachers Association/ American Association of Retired Persons, and the U.S. Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture--operate in 47 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.

* * *

The Department of Labor issued final regulations implementing Section 402 of the Vietnam Era Veterans' Readjustment Act of 1974, requiring Federal contractors and subcontractors to take affirmative action to employ and promote qualified disabled veterans and veterans of the Vietnam era. The rules apply to employers holding contracts in excess of $10,000. Contractors will continue to be required to list all of their openings with appropriate State employment services, and to file quarterly reports regarding their employment of veterans covered by the act.

* * *

Nancy Jenson, of Idaho Falls, Idaho, who was a contestant in the machine drafting competition, won the Paul Revere Silver Bowl Award at the National Vocational Industrial Clubs of America (VICA) Leadership Conference and U.S. Skill Olympics in Miami Beach, Fla. Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery, Jr., who was made an honorary life member of VICA, addressed the 4,000 students, faculty, and advisers.

In an effort to spur innovation in State and local employment and training programs, Region I of the Employment and Training Administration (New England) recently conducted a 2-day workshop, in cooperation with the ETA Office of Research and Development and Boston University, highlighting six successful research and demonstration projects funded by ETA during the past several years. Representatives from Region I's 23 CETA prime sponsors and its State ES agencies were invited to the conference, at which project staff described their procedures, implementation problems and results. Attendees evaluated the workshop and rated it 4.6 on a 5-point scale. Replication of at least one of the presented projects in New England is now assured and others may follow. Similar workshops may be offered in other regions.

* * *

Officials involved with the Suffolk County Coordinated Manpower Program (WORKLIFE, April 1976) held a conference for 300 employers in the county recently to introduce them to the combined WIN/CETA project and to enlist their support.

* * *

Three hundred disadvantaged youth are getting an introduction to the job market this summer in a pilot program called Vocational Exploration Program (VEP), conducted by the National Alliance of Businessmen under a $225,000 grant from the Department of Labor. VEP is cosponsored by the AFL-CIO's Human Resources Development Institute. The project has placed 16- to 21-year-old youth in private industry to work up to 5 hours a day (or up to 225 hours over 9 weeks) at no less than the minimum wage of $2.30 per hour. Participants are learning about vocational opportunities through on-site experience, classroom training, audiovisual presentations, and interaction with employees.

LEAP, In the Right Direction

by Bernice F. David

"Although we're still fighting for the goal we set out to accomplish 6 years ago, we're still in business and apparently we've survived the economic recession," says Art Pearson of the construction company bearing his name in Tacoma, Wash. Survive Pearson's company did, doing approximately half a million dollars of business currently, after a $700,000 peak during 1973. Begun in 1970, the Pearson Construction Company is primarily an electrical contracting firm, although it does general contracting.

Art Pearson is a journeyman electrician who got his union card through the Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP) sponsored by the National Urban League in Tacoma and its special program to help experienced minority workers pass examinations and become union members.

Before going into business for himself, Pearson worked with the Tacoma light inspection department and did various jobs in shipyards. "I guess you could say I got my experience in the field rather than in the classroom," Pearson says.

During his first year, Pearson reports that his company made about $80,000. "We started with a couple of trucks and a loan from the Small Business Administration," he says. Today, Art Pearson Construction has 15 trucks and about $250,000 worth of equipment, says Pearson, whose staff has grown along with his equipment. "When I started out, there were just two of us," he adds, "and now, I guess there are on the average about 20."

Eugene Dyson, a young journeyman electrician in Dayton, Ohio, is the first black electrical contractor in the area. Only a few years ago, he had planned to go to college and then on to law school. But one day during his senior year in high school, a man from the Urban League LEAP program in Dayton came to talk about apprenticeship training programs in the building and construction industry. That day, Eugene Dyson decided to become an electrician.

Last January, after 4 years of work as an apprentice electrician and several years as a journeyman, Dyson began his own electrical contracting firm, the Dyson Electric Company. "I would rather be an electrician than anything else in the world," he says. And although excited and hopeful about his own company, Dyson admits that what he'll miss the most is doing the work himself. "It's going to hurt me not to be able to work with my tools every day," he says.

Starting a new business during a time of economic uncertainty doesn't dampen Dyson's spirit. "As enthusiastic as I am now, if I'm not a millionaire in 10 years, something will be wrong," Dyson adds. "And even if I'm not, at least I will have tried."

She's Still Making Waves

Lillian Trujillo, a construction flagperson on a highway outside Pueblo, Colo., directs traffic around road workers. She also directs trucks bringing material to the construction site. She makes almost $6 an hour. When Trujillo finished high school in 1970, she had all the qualifications and training to become a secretary—shorthand, typing, bookkeeping, office machines courses. Yet, after a few years of office work at the clerk level, she began to look for new career opportunities. She went to cosmetology school and worked as a beautician for 6 months. Still, she didn't feel that she was accomplishing anything with her life. Last year other career horizons were opened when, through LEAP, she was able to become a union flagperson. Now, having completed her first year, she is beginning to learn how to set pipe, do asphalt work, and use mechanical drills. Lillian Trujillo has a bright future ahead.

What do Art Pearson, Eugene Dyson, and Lillian Trujillo have in common? They are all minority workers, and they were all placed in their jobs by the National Urban League's LEAP program. They are three of the nearly 17,000 minority men and women for whom LEAP has opened career opportunities since it began 9 years ago as a small operation with lots of hope and enthusiasm.

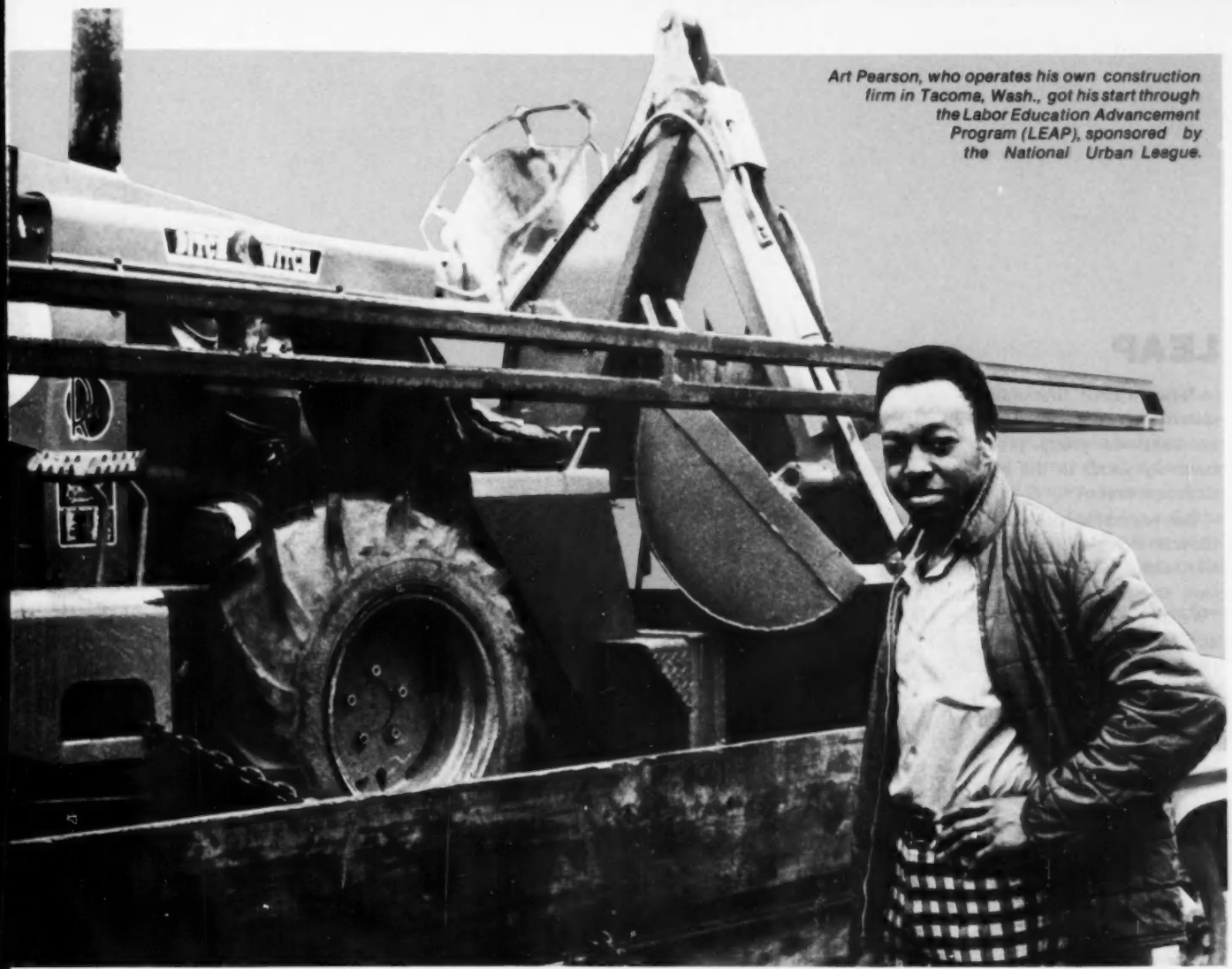
In 1967, the Department of Labor negotiated with LEAP to recruit and place minority men in Baltimore in building and construction apprenticeships. This first LEAP contract, for $57,000, had a goal of 30 apprenticeship placements.

Today, LEAP has expanded to 42 cities across the country, and recently it signed a $5.2 million contract to place 2,877 minority men and women in apprenticeship and nontraditional jobs. Under the direction of Napoleon B. Johnson, II, it has a nationwide staff of over 200 workers, including a national coordinating unit of more than 20 staff members in New York City. It has special components in 14 cities to recruit women for nontraditional jobs (including apprenticeship) and to place older, experienced workers as journeymen or advanced trainees through its Journeyman Advanced Training Program in nine cities. In addition, LEAP recruits Spanish-speaking workers in Hartford and Miami through its special Spanish component.

The blueprint for LEAP was drawn up during the 1960's under a Ford Foundation grant to increase the flow of minorities into the crafts and to improve the participation of blacks already in the labor movement. Shortly thereafter, the program received the endorsement and support of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. From its inception, LEAP has been assisted by a high-level Trade Union Advisory Committee, cochaired by two members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and with the AFL-CIO civil rights director as secretary.

Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers and

Bernice F. David is an information officer for the National Urban League in New York.



Art Pearson, who operates his own construction firm in Tacoma, Wash., got his start through the Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP), sponsored by the National Urban League.

cochairperson of the advisory committee, recalls that in his 9 years with LEAP, "I always felt it was a most worthwhile program."

LEAP, and other programs aimed at getting members of minority groups into apprenticeship (including the Workers Defense League, now called the Recruitment and Training Program and the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute), came to be known as "apprenticeship outreach programs" (AOP's). They were started against the backdrop of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, partly in response to pressure from minority communities to hire minority workers on construction sites.

The Urban League, with its history of involvement in the black community and commitment to find jobs for blacks, seemed a natural setting for apprenticeship outreach. Lounneer Pemberton, executive director of the Urban League of Kansas City, says "LEAP is an ongoing part of our economic development department. A prime effort of the Urban League has always been employment."

The Urban League movement has been an asset in many ways to LEAP projects across the country. "It's been enormously helpful to me in Kansas City, where the Urban League has a good track record of working with the community," says Bob Elliott, Kansas City project director.

Similarly, the Urban League has gained from its association with LEAP. LEAP National Director Johnson says, "We've been able to provide a nationwide network of program management and a manpower delivery system for the Urban League movement."

Supporters contend that the Urban League is not the only group to benefit from LEAP's operation. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said a year ago in an address to the Labor Affairs Conference that LEAP aided at least two other groups—the government and the minority community. "LEAP's profound impact on the lives of individuals is matched by its impact in changing systems to create equal opportunities for minorities," Jordan said. He said, "LEAP demonstrates what can be done by a creative partnership among labor, government, and the nonprofit sector represented by the Urban League."

The National Urban League estimates that LEAP placements have earned almost $400 million over a period of 9 years, and these same placements pay approximately $95 million in taxes. For every dollar spent, the government has made roughly four in return, Director Johnson says. "LEAP provided a major source of revenue for the minority community, while at the same time it has benefited the government," he declares.

LEAP

When LEAP first started, many local school systems were reluctant to work with an unknown group proposing to place minority youth in the building and construction unions.

But beginning with a few contacts within the school systems, LEAP project directors were able to sell their program and its mission to school counselors and teachers. "We tried to get key school people onto our advisory board at the beginning," says Henderson Grigley, Columbus LEAP project director.

Since that time, many projects have developed programs cosponsored by the local school systems and often by the local contractors' associations. Together, they conduct "hard-hat tours," designed to acquaint students, teachers, and counselors with the building and construction world.

Most school systems hold career days to help students explore career avenues open to them. "We attend career days because we believe that students should not only know about being a teacher, lawyer, or statistician, but should also know about the building and construction industry," says Grigley.

How does LEAP operate? The story of how each LEAP placement is made is a complex one. While there is no typical LEAP project, the basic staffing pattern consists of a director, a trade specialist from one of the unions, tutors, recruiter/counselors, and a program assistant. The number of staff persons varies with the city. Chicago, for example, has 17, and some of the smaller projects, such as Jackson, Miss., have only three. Goals for each city vary as well.

Perhaps the easiest way to understand the process is to retrace the steps of someone who has gone through it. For instance, Eugene Dyson was recruited at school, but he could just as easily have been reached at his church, through some other communi-

ty organization, or even at a bowling alley. Or, he might have known someone who had already been recruited.

Once Dyson showed interest, he came to the LEAP office and was given information about the trades and counseled on the application requirements. The recruiter/counselor helped him collect the necessary documents (birth certificate, high school diploma, or General Educational Development certificate) and assisted him in whatever way necessary. Mock interviews were held so that Dyson knew what to expect in the oral interview before the Dayton Electrical Industry Joint Apprenticeship Committee. Additional services available to Dyson—and other applicants—included tutoring by high school teachers or union members to help him pass the union examination, and advice to his wife about what apprenticeship entailed and how to budget on a 9- or 10-month-a-year salary instead of the usual full year's wage.

Finally, once Dyson became an apprentice, LEAP provided limited followup services. These centered around his own or his family's adjustment to his job. Completion of this process gave Dyson a slightly better than average chance of finishing his apprenticeship and getting that journeyman's card.

The project staff's functions are as complex as the process itself. The director's prime responsibility is education—both within the unions and within the community. This is usually accomplished through a variety of speaking engagements, including talks to the local building trades council and individual business agents, high school students and their counselors, and civic organizations. Staff members concentrate on recruiting and counseling LEAP applicants. The Women's Component recruiter/counselor develops jobs for women, both within the construction industry and in other nontraditional areas. Everything the director and the staff do must build the program's credibility with community groups and unions.

Med Cullins, LEAP director in Colorado Springs, talks about the dimensions of his job. "It takes rapport and good working relationships, especially with the Joint Apprenticeship Council. This evolves from a thorough understanding of union procedures. Once people are aware that you're knowledgeable, a respect develops and you learn how to seek out people who will help you persuade others," he says.

In areas where the minority community is not primarily black, additional expertise is required, Cullins said. Such is the case in Colorado Springs, where a large portion of the minority community is Spanish-speaking. LEAP placements there reflect the larger Chicano population, with more workers of Hispanic origin placed than blacks. "We've always made sure that bona fide Chicano organization members are on our advisory council so that they can tell their community what we're accomplishing and we can get their input," says Cullins.

The Colorado Springs LEAP staff has two Chicanos, two whites, and six blacks.

He's the Project's Backbone

The trade specialist offers a thorough understanding of unions. "Being a union member, he can move in and out of the arena easily and feels comfortable in talking about the whole process," says Bill Riddle, Flint (Mich.) LEAP project director.

The trade specialist understands the bidding process and can talk confidently to contractors as well as to union people, Riddle points out. "I guess the trade specialist is the backbone of the project," he adds. Certainly this staff member has the advantage of having firsthand information about apprenticeship requirements and personal contact with union members and officials.

In addition to the LEAP staff, the project can call upon its local advisory committee for assistance. This committee, modeled after the national one, is composed of local union, civic, and educational leaders. It serves primarily as a resource committee for the project, because of the broad range of responsibilities of the LEAP project staff and the emphasis on recruitment counseling and tutoring as the main priorities.

Followup services to placements are limited. Apprenticeship clubs have emerged as one possible way for LEAP to maintain contact with its placements once they have become apprentices, and are providing new apprentices with firsthand background on what it takes to succeed. Such clubs have been formed in some LEAP cities and have attained various degrees of success. Some clubs, such as the one in Atlanta, are not only a means of followup but have become involved in their community. In November, the Atlanta club gave $50 to the city's Urban League to sponsor individuals' attendance at the annual Equal Opportunity Day Dinner and collected baskets of food for senior citizens.

A process similar to the one described above is followed in recruiting, counseling, and placing women. In 1974, LEAP began its Women's Component in response to the small number of women in apprenticeship and in nontraditional jobs. Beginning with a pilot program in three cities, LEAP was able to place women in many jobs traditionally held by men, both in apprenticeship and in other capacities. Gradually, the program was expanded to nine LEAP cities, and it currently operates in 14.

Recruiter/counselors for the Women's Component face a variety of challenges in accomplishing their task. "I guess the hardest part is job development," says Joyce Harper, coordinator for the Kansas City Women's Component. "Sometimes employers play little games about hiring women, and it's difficult to find the right job for the right woman," she adds.

At a LEAP project in Richmond, Va., Suzanne Turner is training to become a machine operator.

LEAP

A career in plumbing is the goal of James Brown, a LEAP participant, of Peoria, Ill.

Geary Stowe is on his way as a carpenter's apprentice, thanks to LEAP.

Sherry Hughes won't be stereotyped. She's training as a welder in the LEAP program in Peoria.

Despite the difficulties, Harper has placed nearly 100 women in Kansas City. "The most rewarding thing is watching a woman, say on welfare and earning no income at all, being placed in a job with a good salary and then watching her increase her income," Harper declares.

Although some women come into the LEAP offices looking for traditional employment, usually once a woman has been told of the new nontraditional opportunities, the chances are very good that she will be interested in them, says Harper.

The recruiter/counselors for women seek applicants just as intensively as all other LEAP staff have in the past. "I go to laundromats, shopping centers, and college dormitories," Harper emphasizes. Recruiter/counselors must understand what each job entails, what the woman's responsibility would be, and how much lifting or other heavy work must be done, and counsel the woman's family about her prospective work.

LEAP project directors are in a position to serve the black community, the unions, and the government; and they are often able to discern the missing links among the three. This expertise has enabled LEAP to create material to inform the minority community, including school counselors and teachers, about apprenticeship; to participate in the development of minority contractors' associations; and to help pioneer training programs for minority youth.

For instance, take Miami, where LEAP and the Urban League were instrumental in creating the Miami Minority Contractor's Association. Miami LEAP was concerned about getting minority workers—a large percentage of whom are Cuban—into existing training programs. Says Cal Jennings, project director, "We were able to take a few of the strongest black contractors and form the association; and we got them jobs on a low-income housing project." Through Model Cities and Office of Minority Business Enterprise loans, the association has increased its membership to more than 100 and has been able to assume the responsibility of training apprentices.

Another example is Chicago LEAP. Two years ago, LEAP looked at the number of minority group members there who qualified for entrance into apprenticeship and at the number on waiting lists and found that minorities were usually on the bottom. After talking with union coordinators, LEAP Project Director Taylor Cotton masterminded a training program—operated jointly by the unions and a local college—for welders, tool and die machinists, asbestos workers, sheet metal workers, and iron workers. Many of that program's graduates were immediately put to work, and others moved higher up on union waiting lists. A similar training program for women helped them decide whether they really wanted jobs in the building and construction trades.

It is largely because of flexibility and insight that LEAP has flourished. However, last year proved an unusual threat to the program, as unemployment rates for construction workers soared and as more and more unions placed moratoriums on hiring apprentices. In response, the Department of Labor, in consultation with apprenticeship outreach programs, decided to allow placements in fields other than the construction trades. Thus, LEAP projects altered slightly and investigated such alternatives as industrial apprenticeship and other comparable jobs.

What does the future hold for LEAP? Director Johnson says that LEAP must continue to broaden the opportunities for women in apprenticeship and must work closely with schools as they prepare young people for careers. "We've got to inform youngsters about the changing trends in employment and to let them know about the alternatives to college education." *The New York Times* recently reported a study by Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) that showed the monetary value of a college degree declining as educational costs rose and the differences in incomes between college and high school graduates narrowing.

Meanwhile, LEAP is continuing to work to bring unions and the minority communities together and to help unions recruit minority workers. It is keeping its commitment to minority youth, hoping that their energies and knowledge can benefit us all.

Burney Davis is 3 years into the plumbing trade in Louisville, Ky.

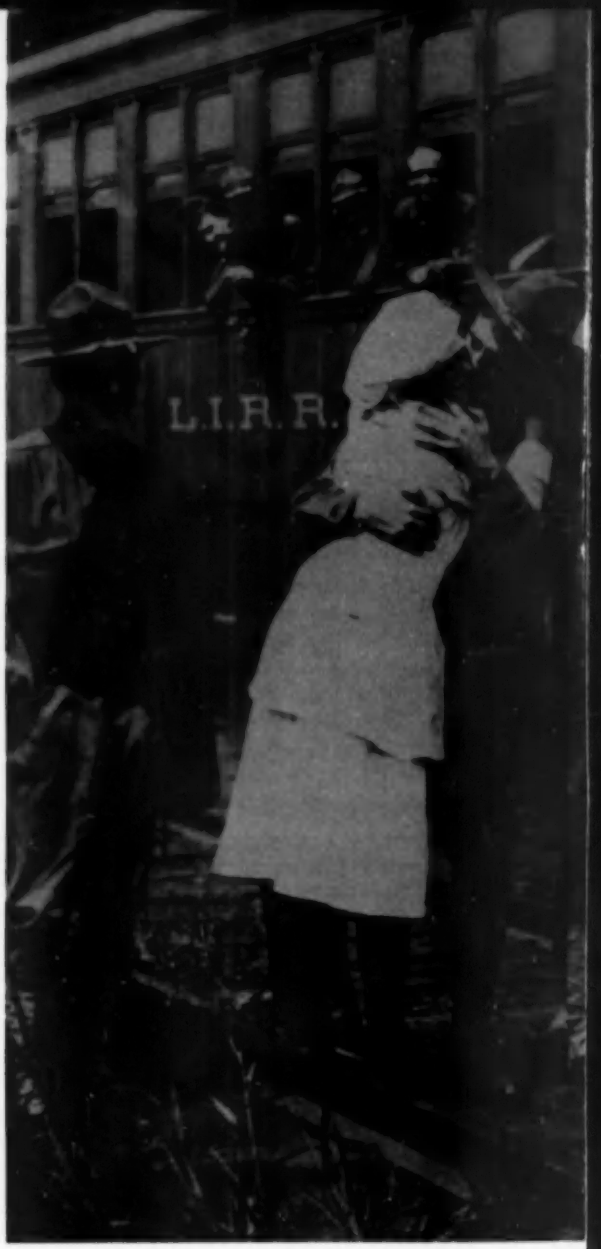
Urban League Photos

AMERICAN WORKLIFE

This is the eighth in a series of special articles and features related to the American Revolution Bicentennial.

When Johnny Went "Over There"

by Robert Ozanne



When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, American workers were lined up before the factory gates, begging for jobs. By the time that Johnny went marching off to war in 1917, employers were scouring the country for workers. This quick reversal in the job market brought changes that would be dramatic even in the context of today's struggle for racial and sexual equality. Before the war, millions of immigrants had provided an endless source of labor. After 1914, they came no more. Soon United States workers were leaving the factories for the front. Blacks and whites from the South and women came to fill the vacuum. Unions, which had been systematically expelled from the mass production industries, reappeared. The Federal Government endorsed the principle of collective bargaining and the employment of union workers on government contract jobs.

The skills and hard physical labor of the 1 million immigrants who came each year had made possible the rapid development of the United States into the foremost industrial nation. However, their numbers, along with their cultural and economic insecurity and the constant threat of displacement by newly arriving immigrants, made them fearful and exploitable. In fact, this labor abundance made many American-born workers fearful and exploitable.

The son of an immigrant family described what the pre-World War I labor abundance meant to individuals. In 1913, when he was 14 years old, his father, who had been laid off, told him:

"You've gone to school long enough; tomorrow you . . . start looking for a job." He found none. *His father found one, pushing a hand truck in a chain mill. One day in January 1914, his father came home " . . . excitedly waving* The Pittsburgh Press *. . . 'Look, in Detroit Henry Ford is paying $5 a day . . . . ' " He and his father went from Pittsburgh to Detroit. " . . . we walked toward the Ford employment office. There were thousands of jobseekers jam-packed in front of the gates. It was a bitterly cold morning . . . . The crowd kept getting larger and larger . . . . Some . . . had been waiting there for hours; . . . company guards ordered the men to stand back and not push against the gates . . . . a man shouted over a megaphone, 'We are not hiring any more today; there's no use sticking around; we're not hiring today.' An angry roar went up from the crowd; . . . . The crowd kept pushing toward the gate . . . again . . . the megaphone; . . . 'If you don't stop pushing . . . we're gonna use the fire hoses' . . . . The crowd became ugly, threatening . . . . the water came, the icy water that froze almost as soon as it landed on our clothing."*[1]

Robert Ozanne is director of the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin Extension at Madison.

National Archives

Doughboys of the "Fighting 62nd" infantry left for "over there" in August 1917. Shortly after the girls kissed the boys goodbye, employers were looking for workers to fill production jobs on the homefront.

Unions, the natural protector of the workers, had been eliminated from mass production industry by the collaboration of business and government in the great open shop drive of 1903–1906. They existed only in construction and printing crafts, coal mining, and some light industries such as men's and women's clothing. In 1914, the labor union movement had 2 ½ million members, or only about 8 percent of the nonagricultural labor force. There was no effective government regulation of safety, health, or even child labor. In 1914, workmens' compensation laws were in their infancy or nonexistent in most states.

Workers, immigrant and American-born alike, were considered as just another factor of production along with the tools and materials. Early in the 1900's, a new technique called "scientific management" was designed by an engineer, Frederick W. Taylor, to increase productivity. As tools, parts, and flow of materials were standardized, so too, were exact norms set for human performance. According to Taylor, these norms could be met by the "superior workman." If a worker could not meet the norms, he was fired. The "superior workman" was not necessarily the most intelligent. In fact, for monotonous and unpleasant jobs managers chose, in the words of a University of Chicago graduate student of the period, "ignorant, unintelligent, stolid, but industrious workers."

This attitude is shown by these callous remarks of the superintendent of a pre-World War I packing house:

"Down both sides of a long table stood twenty immigrant women . . . . 'Look at that Slovak woman,' said the superintendent. She stood bending slightly forward, her dull eyes staring straight down, her elbows jerking back and forth, her

Johnny

hands jumping in nervous haste to keep up with the gang. These hands made one simple precise motion each second, 3,600 an hour, and all exactly the same. 'She is one of the best workers we have,' the superintendent was saying. We moved closer and glanced at her face. Then we saw a strange contrast. The hands were swift, precise, intelligent. The face was stolid, vague, vacant. 'It took a long time to pound the idea into her head,' the superintendent continued, 'but when this grade of woman once absorbs an idea she holds it. She is too stupid to vary. She seems to have no other thought to distract her. She is sure as a machine. For much of our work this woman is the kind we want. Her mind is simply all on the table.' "[2]

Despite the abrupt halt in immigration (in 1915 immigration was one-quarter of the 1914 immigration, in 1918 only one-tenth), the transition from labor abundance to labor shortage was not sudden, because unemployment stood at 9.7 percent as a result of the 1914–1915 depression. By 1916, labor shortages appeared in plants with war orders from Great Britain and France. With the American entry into the war, April 6, 1917, and the accompanying military draft, the shortage became acute.

What a new experience for U.S. industry, a labor shortage accompanied by the life and death wartime demands for production! It created a new work pattern. Workers became a precious commodity to be pirated by the employers from one another. Newly self-confident workers had the courage and opportunity to quit unsatisfactory jobs for better ones. Turnover became astronomical, a threat to war production.

At first, it was hoped that if workers were healthier and happier, they would "stay put" and produce more. The Federal Government stepped in with a welfare committee and appointed a YMCA official to encourage employee recreation. It tried to improve sanitation in factory and company towns. Before the war was over, the Federal Housing Corporation, established by the War Department, had built $194,000,000 worth of new housing near arsenals, factories, and shipyards to house 6,000 workers' families.

The companies increased Americanization classes in factories. The classes ranged from English and citizenship to cleanliness and cooking. Lessons such as: "I fill the tub with water. I take off my clothes. I get into the tub. I wash myself with soap." were designed to produce clean, English-speaking workers.[3] For some obscure reason it was hoped that such workers would then be more loyal and productive. A few employers introduced the stronger ties of medical and pension plans.

Manufacturers also combatted this labor shortage with new labor-saving machinery and incentive systems. The previously quoted immigrant's son recalled his experience in a Detroit factory in 1915. "When I started, motor assemblers put together a complete motor . . . . But, in time, the motors were being assembled on conveyor lines, each man performing only a single task. The emphasis was on speed, speed, speed . . . . A man running a gear cutter worked on only one machine . . . . In time he found himself running two machines, then three, then four."[4] The rapid spread of incentive systems, payment by the piece rather than by the hour, trapped many a factory worker into doing his job faster and faster as the company dropped the piece rate lower and lower. If the employers' incentive system was a group incentive, the worker was driven not only by the company but also by his merciless crewmates to keep the pace of the fastest or most desperate crewmembers in order to increase the group earnings.

While the government and industry tried to counteract the labor shortage by enticement and speed up of production, workers capitalized on it. Emboldened by the power which their scarcity was giving them and aggravated by the tremendous inflation (50 percent from 1914 to 1918), workers demanded substantial wage increases, shorter hours, and the right to organize and to bargain. Without these provisions, skilled construction workers would not go to remote places to build military barracks. Skilled shipyard workers would not build the ships. Railroads, hopelessly entangled in labor disputes, approached collapse. Work stoppages increased from 1,204 in the depression year of 1914 to 4,450 in 1917.

It became clear to President Wilson that labor had to be made an equal partner in production. By presidential order the labor leaders, who formerly had been virtual outcasts, sat down for the first time in U.S. history as equals with government and management on the Railroad Wage Commission, the National War Labor Board, the Cantonment Adjustment Board, the President's Mediation Commission, and the Shipping Labor Adjustment Board.

The National War Labor Board acknowledged the right of unions to recognition and to collective bargaining. The unions pledged not to strike, although there was no legal prohibition. Wage disputes, which had become endemic, were settled by the tripartite boards; if industries defied the boards' decisions, they risked government seizure and operation, as happened in the railroad industry.

Under the impetus of the tight labor market and this friendly or at least neutral Federal labor policy, unions grew at a rapid pace. During the war, the AFL membership increased 37 percent, from 2.4 million to 3.3 million.

Labor scarcity and inflation did not end with the armistice of November 11, 1918, so the wartime work patterns continued as well. From 1915 through 1920, inflation was the greatest the U.S. had known in modern times, 100 percent as com-

pared with 73 percent for the much longer period of 1940–1948. Weekly wages rose, in current dollar terms, from $11.01 in 1914 to $26.30 at the height of the 1920 inflation. In real terms, the increase was from $15.25 to $18.25, based on 1939 prices.

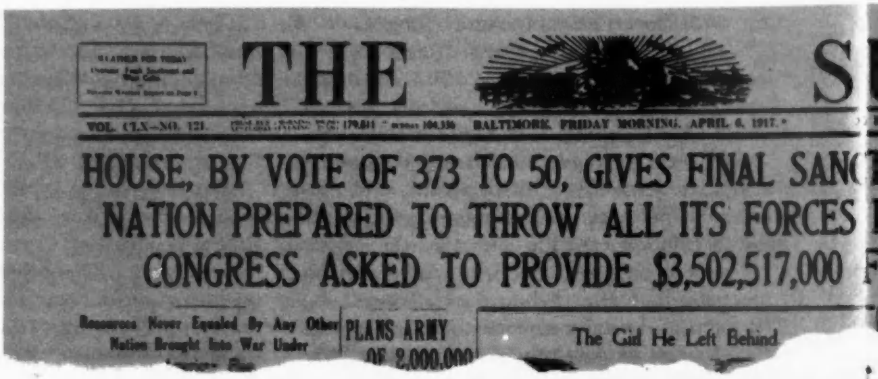
While weekly wages were rising during this decade, weekly hours were declining under the combined forces of union pressure and government regulation. During the war, the Federal Government required that war contractors pay time-and-a-half after 8 hours of work per day. This regulation induced industries such as steel, which had been operating on two 12-hour shifts, to convert to three 8-hour shifts. Some state governments imposed hours regulations for women which also shortened the workweek. Consequently, in 1914, male production workers in manufacturing worked a 52-hour week, women only slightly less, 50 hours. By 1920, men worked 49 hours, while women in the same industries had been cut to 43 hours. Overall, in 1914 the average workweek of production workers in 25 representative manufacturing industries was 51 hours. By 1920, the same industries averaged 48 hours per week.

Then, in the fall of 1920, the inflation bubble burst. Production, national income, and employment fell more precipitously than in any previous depression. Unemployment rose to 12 percent; consumer prices, which has risen 100 percent over the prewar period, fell almost 20 percent.

With the end of World War I, the Nation no longer depended so desperately upon uninterrupted production. Consequently, the war labor boards were dismantled and with them the unions' government-enforced equality with management. However, labor union membership increased even more rapidly during 1919 and 1920 than during the war years, from 3.3 million to 5.1 million, an increase of 57 percent, practically doubling the prewar membership. This strong unionism and the record inflation, plus the end of wartime controls and the consequent return to an obsolete state of labor relations, led to the highest strike rate in U.S. history. Twenty-one percent of all workers were on strike in 1919, compared with 14 percent in 1946, the next most turbulent year. Little wonder management would no longer tolerate this partnership with unions once the war was over, but devoted itself during the 1920's to

Library of Congress

Henry Ford pioneered mass production of automobiles with his Model T assembly line. The family car, affectionately known as the "Tin Lizzie," was easy to operate and its impact led to putting the Nation on wheels.


THE

VOL. CLX—NO. 121. BALTIMORE, FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 6, 1917.

HOUSE, BY VOTE OF 373 TO 50, GIVES FINAL SANC
NATION PREPARED TO THROW ALL ITS FORCES
CONGRESS ASKED TO PROVIDE $3,502,517,000

Resources Never Equaled By Any Other Nation Brought Into War Under

PLANS ARMY OF 2,000,000

The Girl He Left Behind

On April 6, 1917—four days after hearing President Wilson call for America to make the world "safe for democracy"—Congress voted to go to war against Germany.

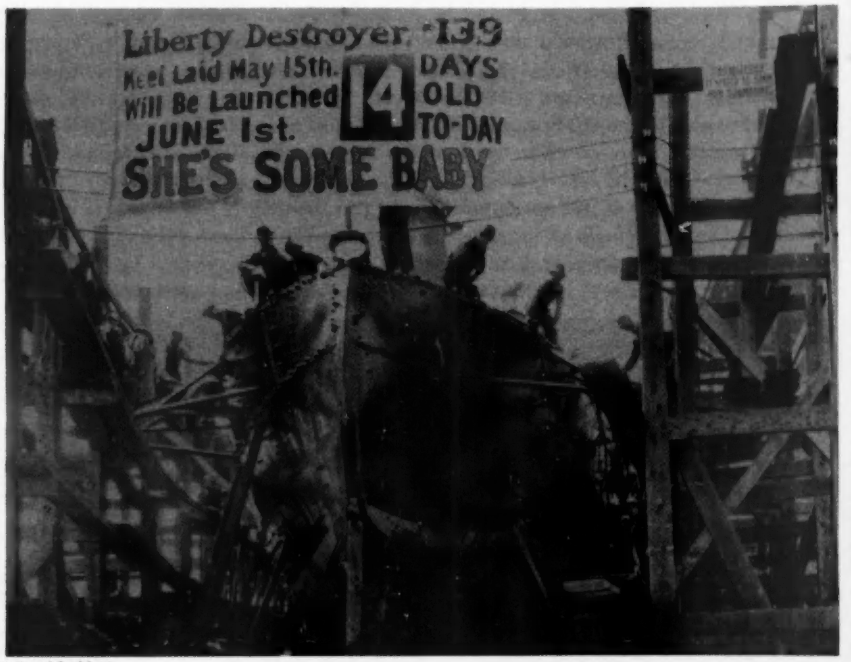
Johnny

restoring and maintaining total control of its work force.

Attacking unions head on, the employers launched a massive, nationwide open shop drive. To capitalize on the still existing wartime patriotism, they sold this anti-union campaign under the pseudonym of the American Plan. As a spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers explained in 1920: "You can hardly conceive of a more un-American, a more anti-American institution than the closed shop. It is really very remarkable that it is allowed to exist . . . under the American flag."[5] The scope of this drive was remarkable. By the end of 1920, practically every industrial center in the country had its own heavily financed open shop organization. The Industrial Association of San Francisco alone had an income of almost $1.8 million from 1921 to 1925.

The American Plan's pattern of violent confrontation was provided by the September 1919 strike of 350,000 steelworkers for union recognition, wages, and the end of the 12-hour day. A local mayor explained when he denied a speaking permit to an AFL officer during the strike, "Jesus Christ himself could not hold a meeting in Duquesne."[6] Thousands of strikebreakers were brought into the plants. Clashes between strikers and strikebreakers brought the National Guard, Federal troops, and martial law to Gary, Ind. By January 1920 the strike had been broken. Not a single concession had been made by the steel companies.

However, in this case the Americanism camouflage of the steel companies' attack was not a complete success. An organization of Protestant churches investigated the strike, and in August 1920 it reported on the vicious strikebreaking methods of the employers and the continuance of the 12-hour day. In May 1922, President Warren G. Harding invited 41 leading steel executives to dinner and politely requested them to abolish the 12-hour day. The Iron and Steel Institute replied to the President, after a year-long study, that the 12-hour day did not keep workers away from their families any more than the outside diversions of workers on the 8-hour day. The press and Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious bodies con-



National Archives

Workers built destroyers for the Navy at the shipyard on Mare Island, Calif. In response to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare, the United States Shipping Board ordered its "bridge of ships"—10 million tons of shipping.

Gasoline stations sprang up in cities and along most-traveled roads. The advertised price per gallon was not unbelievable at the time.

Courtesy of Exxon Corporation

The Sun, Baltimore

UN 4.15 A.M.
PAGES. ONE CENT
TION TO WAR;
INTO CONFLICT;
FOR FIRST YEAR
Balloting Completed At 3 o'Clock This Morning After Over Sixteen Hours Continuous Debate.

demned this support of the "morally indefensible" 12-hour day. On June 18, 1923, President Harding wrote to Judge Gary of the Steel Institute in sterner terms. Judge Gary capitulated. By the end of 1923, steel had moved to the 8-hour day. However, longer hours persisted in many plants across the country throughout the 1920's. As late as 1929, a large auto frame producer was running its assembly line 11 hours on the day shift and 13 hours on the night shift.

Although government and public pressure bested steel on hours, industry had its way in crushing unionism. The open shop drive defeated unionism in steel and destroyed well-established unions in meatpacking, railroad shop crafts, half of the paper industry, and in thousands of small establishments.

National Archives

The legend on this World War I picture declared: "Their work requires brawn as well as the patriotic ambition to help." It made no mention of breaking stereotyped roles of women.

Because the Wilson Administration and the public continued to favor union recognition even after the armistice, some companies—generally those with personnel departments—disguised their open shop with company unionism. The first major company union was installed in 1915 by John D. Rockefeller at his Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in order to avoid dealing with the United Mine Workers after the bloody strike at Ludlow, Colo., 1913–1914.

The company union was completely dominated by the company. Its constitution was written by the company; it was financed by the company. Elections of employee representatives took place on company property and were restricted to company employees. Appeals from the council (50 percent employee and 50 percent management) went to the company president.

To mask their true nature, employers gave the company union councils credit for the 1919–1920 wage increases which they were forced to give because of inflation and labor shortages. These company unions spread like wildfire during this period. The company union mask was more transparent when the councils voted substantial wage cuts in the precipitous economic crash of 1921, such as at a steel company where the council voted a cut of 20 percent May 1, 1921 and only 3 months later voted another cut of 27 percent for day workers and 32 percent for shift workers.

These same councils were markedly lax even in requesting wage increases during the boom years 1923–1929, when dividends were soaring. In late 1922, the carpenters in a large papermill submitted a request for a wage increase to the company union council. At the next council meeting, the president of the company, who did not usually attend the meetings, appeared. He spoke as follows:

"The carpenters have asked for a raise. Their request is appropriate. The company will docket it for today even though under the rules it should not come up for another month. The company will grant the raise effective the first of last week. However, business is so bad that effective today the company is suspending all construction and all the carpenters are herewith laid off. Moreover, if efficiency does not substantially improve, additional workers will be dismissed and the laid off carpenters put in their places."[7]

A college professor hired by the same paper company to evaluate its council reported that "in matters of wages, hours, and working conditions the plan had had no effect whatsoever." The company then changed the union constitution to remove from the council all powers over wages, hours, and working conditions which were "controlled by economic conditions and hence the sole

The Federal Government launched four "Liberty bond" drives to finance World War I. Douglas Fairbanks, then at the height of his movie popularity rallied prospective bond-buyers in Manhattan, where the most razzle-dazzle campaigns were staged.

National Archives

responsibility of management." In one department, the workers responded to this charade of unionism by protesting in the only manner left to them. They elected as their representative to the council a worker who could not read, write, or speak English.

The rise and fall of company unions reflected the strength and later demise of the independent unions. From 1919 to 1924, 490 companies established company unions to replace or ward off independent unions. From 1924 to 1928, only 73 firms established them. Existing company unions atrophied and were all but forgotten until the government again stepped in and required collective bargaining under the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933. Then, phoenix-like, they suddenly rose from the ashes.

Company unionism and the open shop campaign had a disastrous impact on union membership. Union membership was 5.1 million in 1920 but fell to 3.5 million by 1923 and to less than 3 million by 1929. While real annual per capita income rose approximately 22 percent, measured in 1939 dollars, from $454 in 1919 to $552 in 1929, real weekly income of production workers in manufacturing rose only 15 percent, from $17.73 in 1919 to $20.32 in 1929. What is remarkable is the practically flat wage trend during the famous prosperity period of 1923–1929. Here the real income rose only 4.7 percent over the entire 6-year period. Weak unionism also showed up in the collapse of the movement for shorter hours. In manufacturing industries, weekly hours in 1929 stood at 48.3, virtually identical to the 48.2 of 1919.

In the 1920's, government withdrew from the field of labor relations with the exception of its intervention in the railroad industry. The sweeping injunction which Attorney General Harry Daugherty obtained to break the back of the rail shopmen's strike in 1922 greatly weakened unions. The congressional passage of the Railway Labor Act of 1926 established a framework for collective bargaining which became a forerunner of later New Deal labor relations. Thus, in contrast to the tripartite control of the work force from 1917 through 1920, management alone was left in command during the 1920's. Unhampered by government regulation, union demands, or disruptive labor shortage crises, it began to organize control of its work force in a more rational, productive manner.

Within the corporate bureaucracy there had evolved two clashing management factions, each seeking to shape the labor force. The first faction was line production management. At the bottom was the foreman, then the superintendent, the plant manager, and at the top the general manager or later the vice president in charge of manufacturing. Frederick Taylor, a foreman and an engineer, came from this faction. The second faction in the prewar days was the welfare depart-

Johnny

ment, a staff department which reported directly to the company president. It was manned by outsiders, social or YMCA or YWCA workers. It was small but very influential, and its "factory betterment" approach clashed with and threatened the foremen and superintendents. From it came sickness insurance, improved plant sanitation, profit sharing, pensions, recreation, and sometimes plant apprenticeship training.

In the twenties, the social workers and their welfare department were replaced by traditional management insiders in a new department called the personnel department. However, this new personnel department had even greater influence than the old welfare department. The important functions of hiring and training were wrested from the foreman and became the core of the new department.

The scientific management movement was joined by industrial psychologists. In worker selection and promotion, the powerful foremen who had formerly hired by chance or by favoritism and promoted and fired in a like manner were now replaced by a system of applications, intelligence tests, and aptitude tests. Systems of careful job description and job evaluation were introduced in an effort to reduce worker dissatisfaction due to pay inequities and favoritism.

"Personnel" developed a momentum of its own and became a profession. Universities began to train such specialists. Professional organizations developed and in 1923 several management associations merged to form the American Management Association.

To put personnel development of the 1920's into the proper perspective, it should be noted that in 1929, 34 percent of the companies with 250 or more employees had personnel departments but only 2.5 percent of those with less than 250 employees had them.[8]

Probably the change of the World War I-1920 era which most profoundly affected our society today was the change from European immigration to internal migration. From 1900 to 1914, the number of people employed in manufacturing in the U.S. increased by 2.7 million, from 6 million to over 8½ million. Immigration during this period totaled over 13 million. From 1914 to 1918, the number of workers in manufacturing increased by 2.7 million, an almost identical increase, but in 4 years instead of 14. The total immigration for these 4 years was about 1 million. The popular fear of radicals from Europe at this time resulted in legislation which continued the low level of immigration. A 1917 law curtailed immigration drastically and a 1921 law established the quota system favoring Northern Europe, which permanently ended the U.S. supply of unskilled labor from Southern and Eastern Europe.

In the great labor supply crisis of World War I northern manufacturers turned primarily to the rural South. The rate at which southern-born whites moved north almost doubled when European immigration ended. The number of Southern-born whites in the north had increased 20 percent from 1900–1910 and 46 percent from 1910–1920.

Before World War I, northern industries often employed southern-born blacks as strikebreakers. From 1900–1910, three times as many southern-born whites as blacks had moved north, but the pressure of the labor shortage reduced this difference to about only 1¼ times during the next two decades, when southern-born blacks moved north at a spectacularly increasing rate.

The percentage increase of blacks moving north was five times as great from 1910–1920 as it had been for the previous decade. When 50,000 blacks arrived in Chicago during an 18-month period in 1918–1919, race riots resulted. Generally, the incumbent worker had been prejudiced against whoever were the most recent immigrants,

National Archives

Women went into World War I production plants to perform jobs usually reserved for "men only." This welder worked on Liberty motors at the Lincoln Motor Co. in Detroit.

Johnny

because they were a threat to his wage level or even his job. Their poverty and different customs often repulsed him. When the blacks replaced the white immigrants, this fear and prejudice was augmented by their color.

In 1925, after unquestioningly hiring white European immigrants instead of black Americans before World War I, at least one large northern company reassessed the relative merits of black versus immigrant white employees. The personnel department noted that "The large number of Negro applicants permits of a good selection." They "understand the English language" and are "equally efficient as the foreign-born whites." They are "less troublesome on the wage and labor question than . . . the white immigrants."

The "migration" of women from the home to the outside work force also increased during the era. From 1920 to 1930, employment of all women rose 16 percent, to 1 out of every 4 workers, yet working women were universally discriminated against occupationally, socially, and financially. In business, the top job for the college graduate woman was secretary to the boss.

In the traditional women's occupation, teaching, school systems overwhelmingly paid men more than women. In factories, each plant had a female wage rate substantially below the male rate, even where the jobs were identical. The average hourly earnings of women in manufacturing were only 60 percent of the men's rate in 1914. Even under the extreme labor shortage of World War I, their earnings rose to only 64 percent of the men's.

In periods of unemployment, married women were the first to be dismissed to make way for male breadwinners. This was a common fate not only in teaching and other public employment, but in the factories as well.

Perhaps the most significant trend in manufacturing in the 1920's was the replacement of men by machines. In 1919, U.S. factories employed 10,500,000 workers. In 1929, they still employed 10,500,000 workers, but they produced 64 percent more goods than in 1919. Henry Ford's Model T assembly line was one of the pioneer developments which ignited this technological revolution. Although this technology caused the assembly workers much pain, especially until they gained some protection by unionizing, it carried blessings to the consumer. For example, the average price of a horseless carriage in 1907 was $2,123. Ford offered a model for $850 in 1908, $540 in 1915, and $290 in 1924.

This decade was a harbinger of the white-collar era to come. In terms of numbers employed, trade and finance and service industries were the growth industries, with trade increasing 37 percent and finances and services 47 percent from 1919 through 1929, while the proportion employed in manufacturing actually declined slightly.

One of the most effective and lasting changes in U.S. worklife was the spectacular advance made in public education at all levels. The State of Wisconsin, for example, began after 1910 a statewide, completely tax-supported system of vocational and adult schools. These schools not only trained craftsmen of all types but offered lifelong learning and even hobby courses to adults. In the 1920's, the goal of free, compulsory secondary education was written into the statutes of most states, an important factor in making the U.S. a more open society with upward mobility within the reach of many Americans. One of the effects of the advance in public education and a rising standard of living was a decline in child labor, which stood at over 1 million in 1920. Direct attacks on this evil were shamelessly set aside by the U.S. Supreme Court and later by state legislatures. For example, Congress in 1916 passed a law directly prohibiting shipments in interstate commerce of goods made by child labor, but in less than a year the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. Almost immediately, Congress passed a new law levying a 10 percent excise tax on goods made in establishments employing children under 14. Again, the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. A national committee chaired by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, decided to push for a constitutional amendment. It received the two-thirds majorities in both houses of Congress in 1924. But by 1929 only five states had ratified the amendment. Except for a handful of states with effective laws, children got no protection until the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

The last year of the decade, 1929, ushered in what was widely believed to be an era of permanent prosperity. The rise in national income was unprecedented. As compared with current levels of unemployment, 7-9 percent, the unemployment rate average of 3.3 percent, 1923-1929, was unbelievably low. In the absence of unions, wage rates remained constant, but the decline in prices after 1926 and the relatively full employment gave workers at least a taste of the general prosperity. Strikes were nonexistent. Not even the crash of the stock market in October 1929 disturbed the public euphoria. However, the slow decline into the world's deepest depression was already underway. (EDITOR's NOTE: The Great Depression resulting from the stock market crash of 1929 will be the subject of next month's main article in WORKLIFE's Bicentennial series.) □

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The People's Department

by Jonathan Grossman

When William B. Wilson, the first Secretary of Labor, addressed members of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) at their convention in Seattle on November 12, 1913, he was proud to call them "my fellow unionists."

It was Wilson's first speech to the AFL after being named to head the new Department of Labor (DOL), created only 8 months before by Congress, giving trade unionists the "voice" in the cabinet for which they had fought since the end of the Civil War.

Wilson drew a barrage of epithets from conservatives, who called him "agitator," "socialist," and "anarchist."

Under the headline of "Treason in the Cabinet" *The Los Angeles Times* reported that the Secretary was "preaching the socialist doctrine of discontent to arouse the hatred of the unthinking and discontented and not so very scrupulous class against the Constitution of the U.S. . . . . "

The controversy grew out of the interpretation of the second and key sentence of the Act of March 4, 1913, creating the DOL, which states that the "purpose . . . shall be to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." Could the Department carry out this purpose and yet work out harmonious relations with business and labor? Was it the voice of

Jonathan Grossman is historian of the Department of Labor.

In March 1918, workers seeking jobs as shipbuilders lined up outside the United States Employment Service (USES) office in New York City. USES placed 3 million workers in jobs during World War I.

Underwood & Underwood Photo, National Archives

Department

organized labor, or was it a spokesman on labor questions for *all* Americans?

Like most Secretaries who succeeded him, Wilson discovered that it was not as easy in practice as in theory to be a voice of labor in the Cabinet, since most Cabinet members owe their first allegiance to the President and his policies. It has been said that when a President catches cold, a Cabinet member sneezes. The role of the Secretary of Labor is sometimes even more difficult than that of other Cabinet members because he must maintain friendly relations with labor while at the same time he cannot antagonize business.

Secretary Wilson tried to walk a slender tightrope and outlined his philosophy in the first and most important annual report ever prepared by the DOL. President Woodrow Wilson personally reviewed the report. It clarified the Department's purpose by stating that it did not seek any special privileges for any group. The report continued:

> "Nor is there any implication that the wage earners in whose behalf this Department was created consist of such only as are associated together in labor unions. It was created in the interest of the welfare of all wage earners of the United States, whether organized or unorganized . . . . Similar relations with . . . employers and their organizations to the extent to which they themselves permit, are likewise a duty of the Department . . . . The element of fairness to every interest is of equal importance, and the Department has in fact made fairness between wage earner and wage earner, between wage earner and employer, between employer and employer, and between each and the public as a whole the supreme motive and purpose of its activities . . . . "

The birth of the Department on March 4, 1913 was the culmination of a 45-year struggle by the American labor movement. Between 1865 and 1913, Congressmen introduced more than 100 bills and resolutions for the creation of some form of labor department. In 1884, labor gained a toehold in the Federal Government with the creation of a small Bureau of Labor in the Department of the Interior.

President Grover Cleveland, battling for reelection in 1888, tried to win labor support by sponsoring a Department of Labor.

Cleveland offered to make Terence Powderly, one of the most powerful labor leaders of his day, Commissioner of Labor, a position which he could hold while continuing to serve as Grandmaster Workman of the Knights of Labor. Powderly replied that the day was 36 hours too short for him to do both jobs and besides he, Powderly, had enemies. "You may depend on your enemies to stay up all night to get even," Powderly told Cleveland. "You are in the midst of a bitter campaign, and these men might do you harm." Cleveland accepted Powderly's rejection but signed a bill in 1888 raising the Bureau of Labor to an independent Department, *without* Cabinet status. The Commissioner was free from Cabinet supervision and reported directly to the President.

Labor was not alone in clamoring for greater Cabinet representation in Washington. Farmers, who had had a Bureau of Agriculture since the Civil War, tried to raise it to Cabinet rank. Among the more interesting efforts was an attempt to satisfy two interest groups with one Department. In 1887, the House passed a bill creating a Department of Agriculture and Labor, and the Senate accepted the bill with amendments. But farm lobbyists objected, and the bill died in conference. A year later, the more powerful farm interests achieved their own full-fledged department with a Secretary of Agriculture in the President's Cabinet.

In the meantime, business pressed its claim for a Cabinet-level Department of Commerce and Industry. Beginning in the 1890's, Congressmen introduced bills to establish a Department of Commerce in which the existing Department of Labor would be again reduced to a subordinate bureau. Labor leaders reacted in self-defense. Samuel Gompers, president of the AFL, charged that business and commerce already "had absolute and exclusive domination in the Cabinet," and revived labor's demand for its own "direct representative in the councils of the President."

Between 1888 and 1903, the independent Department of Labor had a record of solid achievement. Its studies of labor legislation, safety and health, and working conditions had wide influence, and it pioneered in mediating strike settlements in the railroad industry. But at the turn of the century business was in the saddle, and capitalists wielded tremendous influence in Congress. In such a political climate neither the record of the independent DOL nor Gompers' political influence was sufficient to save it from being downgraded again.

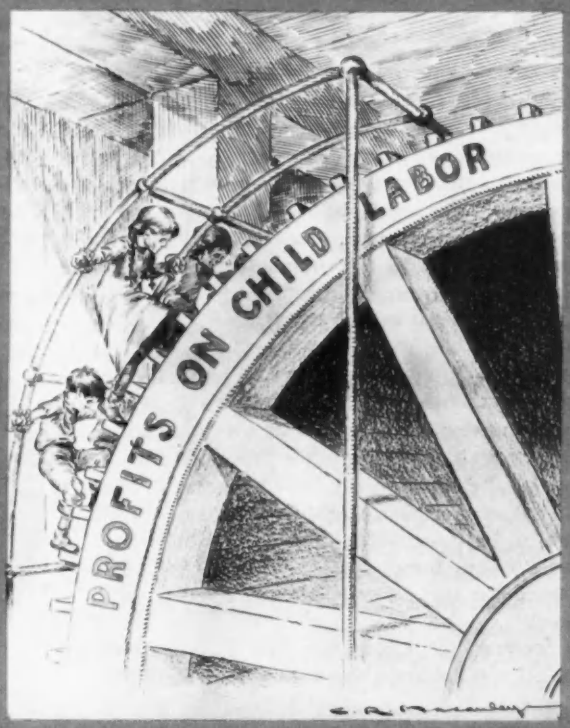
When Theodore Roosevelt became President, his message to Congress in 1901 called for a "Cabinet Officer, to be known as Secretary of

Drudgery was a reality in the lives of many children before labor codes restricted their exploitation.

Lewis W. Hine Collection, Library of Congress

Earnings were mainly a matter of luck for shoeshine boys who pitched pennies while waiting for customers on the sidewalks of New York.

Lewis W. Hine, Photo League Archive, New York Public Library



Library of Congress

Sentiment against child labor inspired this newspaper cartoon.

Commerce and Industries . . . to deal with commerce in its broadest sense, including among other things whatever concerns labor . . . ." Senator William P. Frye of Maine introduced the Administration's bill in the 57th Congress. A Democratic minority fought it stubbornly, claiming that the independent labor department would be submerged; that labor organizations opposed the bill; and that the distrust between labor and business would destroy the department's usefulness. President Roosevelt did not agree that labor and capital were in conflict. He dramatically proclaimed that if he were a workingman, he would join a union, but saw no reason why labor and commerce could not have a great deal in common. The Republican majority argued that what was good for business was good for labor, that most ambitious workingmen wanted to become capitalists, and that the community of interests far outweighed the differences. A new commerce and industries department would also be more efficient. Various information and statistical bureaus would be brought together, including the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury and the Census Bureau. To make the bill more palatable to labor, the title was changed from a Department of Commerce and Industries to a Department of Commerce and Labor. The opposition of labor notwithstanding, the bill passed by large majorities. President Roosevelt signed it in February 1903, thus demoting DOL to a bureau again.

Gompers renewed efforts to get "Labor" out from under "Commerce." Unlike Roosevelt, he refused to accept the view of a community of interest tied together by a Secretary of Commerce and Labor. At a hearing before the Congressional Committee on Labor, Frank Morrison, secretary of the AFL, held that a Secretary of Commerce was interested in higher profits while a Secretary of Labor would be interested in higher wages and better working conditions. To combine both purposes into a single Cabinet Secretary was, said Morrison, to create a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

Labor began to flex its political muscles. As early as 1906, Secretary Wilson, a founder of the United Mine Workers and one of its leaders during the great coal strike of 1902, ran for Congressman on the Democratic ticket in a Pennsylvania district which had gone Republican, with but a single exception, in every election since the Civil War. In an astonishing upset, Wilson defeated the incumbent, a millionaire lumberman. Wilson was reelected in 1908, the year when the AFL persuaded the Democratic Party to adopt a platform plank pledging "the enactment of a law creating a Department of Labor, represented separately in the President's Cabinet." He was reelected again in 1910, when not only did 15 union members win seats in Congress, but the Democrats swept control of the House of Representatives and Bill Wilson became a member of the

Department

powerful Committee on Rules and Chairman of the House Committee on Labor.

Samuel Gompers wrote ecstatically that under Wilson, "that Committee, instead of being a charnel house of labor measures as formerly, now responds to the justice of labor's needs." Arthur Link, the most scholarly biographer of President Woodrow Wilson, observed that Congressman William Wilson was "the sponsor of the most comprehensive program of Federal labor legislation in the Nation's history before 1933."

The House Committee, under Wilson, was sympathetic to the idea of a separate Department of Labor. One committeeman suggested that Gompers, as president of the AFL, might become the first Secretary of Labor, but Gompers refused by saying "as a matter of love there is not an office on God's green earth that . . . I would exchange for the Presidency of the AFL." Nevertheless, he strongly recommended that the new Secretary should be from the working class and have ties to the cause of union organization.

In 1912, Representative William Sulzer of New York, who was soon to become Governor of that state, introduced a Department of Labor bill, and chairman Wilson guided it through the House, insisting that labor needed its own man among those who have the ear of the President. This bill passed the House with little opposition. For a time it seemed that it might die in the Senate Committee. However, AFL lobbyists persuaded Senator William Borah to rescue it, and the Senate passed the bill without keeping a record of the votes.

Secretary of Commerce and Labor Charles Nagel was unhappy about the bill. Believing that

William B. Wilson, first Secretary of Labor, was a coal miner at the age of 13.

Department of Labor

it was a step backward in the creation of efficient government administration, Nagel tried to persuade President Taft to veto it. As of March 4, 1913, President Taft's last day in office, the fate of the Cabinet-level Department of Labor still hung in the balance, and the *New York Times* reported that the outgoing President might veto the bill. Taft had an early breakfast, and with only a few hours to go before turning over his position to the incoming President Woodrow Wilson, he went to the Executive Office in the Senate. After deliberation, Taft signed the bill, having concluded that if he vetoed it, the incoming administration would probably pass similar legislation and that his motives for a veto, during his closing hours in office, would be misunderstood.

In 1912, at the pinnacle of his congressional success, Bill Wilson ran for his fourth term. Many progressives who had formerly supported him turned toward a liberal Republican opponent, and the Socialists, in the strongest election bid in their history, split the labor vote. Wilson was defeated by a narrow margin. In a state of shock, he wrote to a friend that the voters made a bad mistake. "My first thought when I learned of my defeat," he confided, was "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do . . . . I have no plans for the future except that I will go on, in my humble way, to promote the welfare of those who toil . . . ." Then adversity turned to fortune when Wilson's many friends in the labor movement persuaded President Woodrow Wilson to appoint him as the first Secretary of Labor.

Although the Department's goals, as stated in Wilson's annual report, were sublime, the resources allocated to it to meet its goals were ridiculous. The Department itself was a motley mixture of four bureaus that had been transferred to it. First and by far the largest was the Bureau of Immigration that employed 1,700 of the Department's approximately 2,000 employees. At that time, immigration was an important labor problem, since most immigrants needed work immediately upon arrival in order to survive. Second, a 130-employee Bureau of Naturalization was concerned with Americanizing foreign-born workers. Third, a Children's Bureau, established in 1912, had only 15 employees. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, from which the Department had developed, rounded out with its 100 employees the quartet of bureaus.

Secretary Wilson met a great challenge. Congress had assigned the Department one new activity—the conciliation of labor disputes. This was the first time that the Federal Government established such a function outside of the transportation industry. But Congress provided no money for this responsibility, and Secretary Wilson squeezed funds from other bureaus for a newly created Conciliation Division to foster industrial peace. This division got off to a slow start and settled few strikes. Although it was hobbled by a shortage of money, DOL's chief problem was business distrust. For example, an official of the Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, then engaged in a bitter strike at Ludlow, Colo., wrote to the absentee owners that Secretary Wilson was a "cunning schemer" trying to trap the company into recognizing the union.

Its shaky beginning notwithstanding, the DOL began to achieve some of its great goals during the war years, 1917-1918. President Woodrow Wilson needed the support of labor for his crusade to "make the world safe for democracy." At the beginning of World War I, American labor was deeply divided. A strong section of the organized labor movement passionately embraced pacifist ideals. Many workers came from countries at war with the United States. On the eve of the war, wages were low, work hours long, and a depression had caused serious unemployment. War brought rapid inflation and, as workers migrated to centers of production, they crowded into unsanitary housing. Business boomed with war orders both from the Government and its allies, while at the same time labor became scarce as war stopped the flow of immigrants and the army drafted many potential workers. Between 1915 and 1918 unemployment dropped from 9.7 to 1.4 percent.

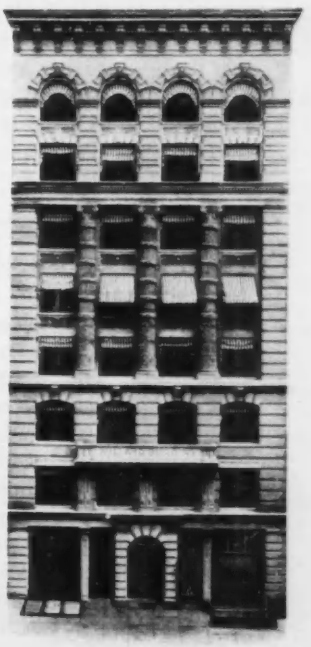
Labor faced a paradox. On one hand, war called for national unity and patriotic sacrifice. On the other hand, the time to demand economic concessions was when labor was urgently needed. At the outbreak of the war, labor had, possibly for the first time in American history, the muscle to make demands from a position of strength.

The Federal Government offered labor many concessions to gain its support for the war effort. Some parts of the labor movement refused to "sell out," but the American Federation of Labor and the great mass of workers loyally cooperated with the drive for increased production. Though the DOL was too small and too weak to operate efficiently and was often overshadowed by the agencies it was supposed to supervise and coordinate, it grew rapidly and began to assume the role of a centralized war labor administration.

The Federal Government convinced labor that while the Nation was fighting a "just" war abroad, it would also foster social and economic justice on the homefront. Among the many significant events on the production front was agreement by management and labor to a code that outlawed strikes during the war but gave workers the right to organize and prohibited employers from firing workers for joining unions. The code provided that men and women would receive equal pay for equal work, accepted the 8-hour working day, restricted child labor, and recognized that workers were entitled to a living wage. The War Department accepted as standard

The old Willard Building housed the Labor Department when it was part of Commerce at the turn of the century.

Department of Labor



Four White House workers were able to get into a bathtub made for President Taft, whose gentle voice issuing from his enormous body was a constant surprise. Taft signed a bill creating the Department of Labor a few hours before turning the Presidency over to Woodrow Wilson.

Department

that a wage rate agreed on by employers and a union would become the *prevailing* wage for government contracts, a provision which is a basic element in many procurement agreements today.

In January 1918, President Wilson authorized Secretary Wilson to organize a War Labor Administration. Under this authority, the Secretary appointed the prestigious National War Labor Board. Heading the labor side was the famous liberal lawyer Frank Walsh, while ex-President of the United States William Howard Taft represented employers. The board applied the principles of the labor codes to specific disputes. It became in a sense a supreme court of labor relations. In the few instances where either capital or labor defied the War Labor Board, President Wilson used his war powers to enforce its decisions.

Secretary Wilson also created a War Labor Policies Board. He appointed Felix Frankfurter, an eminent young lawyer, as his assistant and then made him chairman of the Board, which attempted to centralize and standardize labor policies. The Board tried to direct labor to localities and industries where it was most needed and sought to set standards for working conditions. It coordinated the work of several government agencies that dealt with labor and tried to use these agencies to make its policies effective. The Frankfurter policies board sought to stimulate efficient production while at the same time incorporating ideals of fair play in government contracts, limiting child labor, preventing competition from prison labor, and establishing reasonable standards for wages, hours, and working conditions.

At the same time that Secretary Wilson appointed and coordinated the work of such super-boards, he strengthened his own Department. The Secretary created the United States Employment Service, which placed 3 million workers in jobs during the war. A Farm Service Division struggled with the shortage of farmworkers by directing thousands of laborers to farm jobs and importing temporary migrants from Mexico. A Boys' Working Reserve helped with local harvesting. A Division of Negro Economics helped relieve racial tensions when many blacks left Southern farms for Northern and mid-Western factories. The Woman in Industry Service recruited women for jobs. The United States Housing Corporation built houses, apartments, and dormitories and ran a hotel for working girls in Washington, D.C. A Child Labor Division fought a largely successful battle against using the war as an excuse to exploit children. A Working Conditions Service endeavored to maintain decent standards of work and safety.

The DOL was too new, too small, and too loosely organized to become an efficient, all-embracing wartime labor agency. Yet famous and talented men and women reported to the Secretary of Labor and consulted with him about their activities. Because of the exigencies of war and the desire for labor support, the Department approached its original goal as a voice of labor in the Cabinet. Compared with World War II methods, when the President and the labor unions largely bypassed the Labor Department and most work force functions were run by independent war agencies, the World War I record of the Department represents a high water mark of departmental achievement.

World War I changed the nature of what had been the DOL's most important function—immigration. Except for the native Indian population, the United States was a nation of immigrants. Unlike most countries of the world, American immigrants (except for blacks) had come neither as slaves nor as conquerors. Many immigrants endured periods of hardship during their adjustment, but they or their children, in time, became equal citizens with the same rights as the immigrants who preceded them.

Secretary Wilson's life was an example of the immigrants' dream of America as the land of opportunity. Wilson was born in Scotland in 1862. His father left Scotland in 1870 to work as a coal miner in Pennsylvania and 4 months later his family followed him. At the age of 9 "Billy" Wilson worked in a mine loading coal cars; at 13 he became a miner; at 14 he was secretary of the local union; and by 18 he was "blacklisted" by mine owners and could not hold a mine job. He worked as a railroad fireman, a sawmill hand, and a typesetter on a local newspaper and tried his hand at farming. At 21 he married Agnes Williamson, also born in Scotland, who gave birth to 11 children, 9 of whom grew to adulthood. But even with family responsibilities he organized miners, and on at least one occasion was jailed for aiding strikers. Because employers considered his union activities dangerous, he could not get steady work, and not until he was 36 years old did he ever average more than $40 a month income. Then, in 1900, he became International Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers union, which during this period became the most powerful union in the United States. In 1907, with the retirement of John

Immigrants swarmed into the United States until World War I stemmed the flow. With baggage and identification tags, they landed at Ellis Island, the New York port of entry.
Culver Pictures

Mitchell, he ran for president of the union and lost to Tom Lewis by a margin of 2,000 out of 140,000 votes.

World War I introduced the problem of "un-American" immigrants, those whose radicalism had been sparked by wartime passions. The Communist Revolution abroad and terror bombing at home created an anti-alien hysteria. Some Americans began to look upon every Italian as a potential anarchist and every Slav as a possible Bolshevik.

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, perhaps hoping that the "red scare" might catapult him into the Presidency, directed raids on homes and meeting places of radicals. The Department of Justice seized thousands of aliens and asked the Department of Labor to deport them. Secretary of Labor Wilson refused. He agreed to deport aliens only after they had been shown the evidence against them, had a chance to defend themselves, and had been proven guilty.

When Secretary Wilson had to leave the DOL temporarily in early 1919, his assistant, Louis Post, stepped into the limelight. Post had been a labor reporter, editor of a progressive newspaper, and Wilson's chief assistant. He was a courageous idealist. He resisted intense pressure and would not deport an alien merely for attending a meeting of a subversive organization. He held that it was necessary to prove that the alien had committed some "deportable" act. In the face of vehement protests, Post canceled 3,000 arrest warrants and released 400 of 1,000 aliens held in custody.

Several Congressmen called for Post's impeachment. Since he could not afford to defend himself, friends raised money for his legal expenses and able lawyers came to his defense. In a dramatic trial, Post made clear that he was ready to deport aliens but only after they had been found deportable according to American principles of justice. His vindication during the antiradical hysteria was a victory not only for the Department of Labor, but a great moment in the history of civil liberty.

With the end of the war, the Federal Government hastily abandoned almost all of its war-created agencies. The expanded DOL was dismantled, although it retained a few new functions. On July 1, 1920, Congress recognized the growing role of women and established a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, which was an outgrowth of the wartime Woman in Industry Service. The United States Employment Service also survived, but gave up its offices and limped along merely as a clearinghouse for ineffective state and municipal employment exchanges.

Following a Republican landslide in 1920, President Warren G. Harding selected James J.

Department

William N. Doak, a union editor and loyal campaign worker for three Presidential candidates, was the first American-born Secretary of Labor.

Department of Labor

Davis as his Secretary of Labor. Like his predecessor, Davis had been an immigrant boy and for a time worked as a steel puddler. "Puddler Jim" won fame and fortune when he became recruiter of the then almost defunct Loyal Order of the Moose. He was paid on a per capita basis and became rich as he built up the fraternal organization's membership. Detractors claimed he was the only man who successfully milked a moose.

Davis was not a strong Secretary. Herbert Hoover, at that time Secretary of Commerce, handled most important government labor affairs and was responsible for the great labor event of the decade: persuading the steel industry to give up its traditional and inhumane 12-hour workday. Davis, who devoted much of his time to the restrictive immigration laws of 1921 and 1924, played only a minor supporting role. He recognized the low status of his Department when he wrote President Calvin Coolidge on May 20, 1924: " . . . Being at the tail end of the Cabinet . . . I somehow feel that I ought not take more of your time . . . you have given me the Department of Labor to run and the less you see of me and hear of me, the better Secretary I'll be . . . . "

When Davis left office in 1930, Charles W. Ervin, one of the great old-time labor reporters, described the most desirable qualifications for a new secretary, "based on those of the gentleman who has filled the office for the last 9 years," as follows:

> A Secretary of Labor must be something of a stuffed shirt, with a gift for making long-winded speeches about nothing in particular. He must have a genius for inaction, a positive flare [sic] for never doing anything to offend anyone. On the one hand, he must avoid any word or action that might tend to alienate a segment of the so-called labor vote and on the other he must be ever so careful not to give labor enough of a break to arouse criticism from employing corporations . . . . When business depressions come along he must be able to rise up and blame them on the Senate, the Bolsheviki, the Democrats, or somebody, and when several million persons are unemployed he must be able to proclaim that a few hundred thousand are merely taking a voluntary vacation, and that everything will be alright in a week or two. (*The Advance*, July 25, 1930)

But hindsight is clearer than foresight. Davis remained Secretary of Labor under three successive Presidents. Davis encouraged the work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics because without adequate information labor policies "would be adopted in darkness and would be almost futile." Davis urged big business to pay high wages in return for high productivity. He strongly supported peaceful settlement of labor disputes and compared capital and labor to a lock and key, neither of which could work without the other.

Davis' popularity was proven by the fact that he was elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania for three successive terms and was one of the very few Republicans who survived the Democratic landslides of the 1930's. As Senator he sponsored the important Davis-Bacon Act of 1931 that protected construction workers. In terms of government laissez-faire and a philosophy of "rugged individualism," Davis was simply a product of his age.

When Davis resigned to become Senator, President Herbert Hoover seemed about to shatter precedent with the appointment of Grace Abbot, who would have become the first woman Cabinet member. She was head of the Children's Bureau and a prominent national leader. But Hoover backed off and turned to William N. Doak, a union editor, lobbyist for the railroad brotherhoods, and a loyal campaign worker for three Republican Presidential candidates—Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Doak was the first American-born Secretary and though his schooling was limited to graduation from a Bristol, Va. business school, he had more formal education than either of his predecessors.

Doak followed Davis' anemic economic philosophy of government nonintervention in the Nation's economic life but lacked his predecessor's flair for human relations. He also had the misfortune of serving during the depth of the worst and most traumatic depression in American history. His comment "that the central government was never intended to be a charitable institution" hardly endeared him to millions of unemployed Americans, although he did modify his stand to favor modest Federal antidepression measures. Among his proposals was one to deport aliens who had jobs, so that Americans could have them.

Doak's successors painted him with horns, tail, and cloven hoofs, but actually if he had been the angel Gabriel, his reputation would hardly have improved. Like President Hoover, he was caught in a web of circumstances beyond his control. He was a scapegoat of depression bitterness. Frances Perkins, a great Secretary of Labor who succeeded him after a hate-ridden election in 1932, was venomous in her description of him. Although it is the victor who writes history, no revisionist historian could possibly turn Doak into a dauntless leader. But probably history has dealt with him too harshly, and he was merely an average man, unable to cope with the terrible events of the onset of the depression. The Davis-Doak Secretaryships of Labor between 1921 and 1933 seem stark and dismal, because by contrast during the New Deal the Department became a seedbed of social progress and a source of inspiration in the legislative drive for economic justice. □

Words & Figures

Characteristics of the Insured Unemployed

Who are the insured unemployed? Monthly data reveal little variation in the characteristics of the insured unemployed from month to month. The most recent information, for December 1975, shows that the typical claimant is a white male who has been unemployed from 5 to 14 weeks. He is between 25 and 34 years of age. He had been employed in an industrial job, performing structural work of low complexity.

A little over 60 percent of the 3,305,100 claimants were men. About four-fifths of all claimants were white, and this proportion held for both males and females.

In terms of their length of unemployment, there were no significant differences between men and women claimants or among whites and claimants of other ethnic derivation. Approximately two-fifths of the claimants across the board had been unemployed for a period of from 5 to 14 weeks. A little more than one-fourth comprised the hard-core unemployed claimants who had been out of work for 15 weeks or more.

Claimants included teenagers as well as senior citizens, but the largest percentage—among men, women, and claimants of all races—were from 25 to 34 years old. A little more than one-fourth belonged to this age category. The smallest percentage, less than 5 percent, were in the 65-and-over age group.

During better times, when they held jobs, almost half the unemployment insurance recipients worked in industrial categories, largely manufacturing. Three-fifths of the male claimants worked in industrial occupations, and those engaged in structural work made up the majority. Among women claimants, about a third held jobs in industrial firms, and the majority of these workers were engaged in benchwork. Another third of the women held clerical and sales jobs.

Paul Ralli

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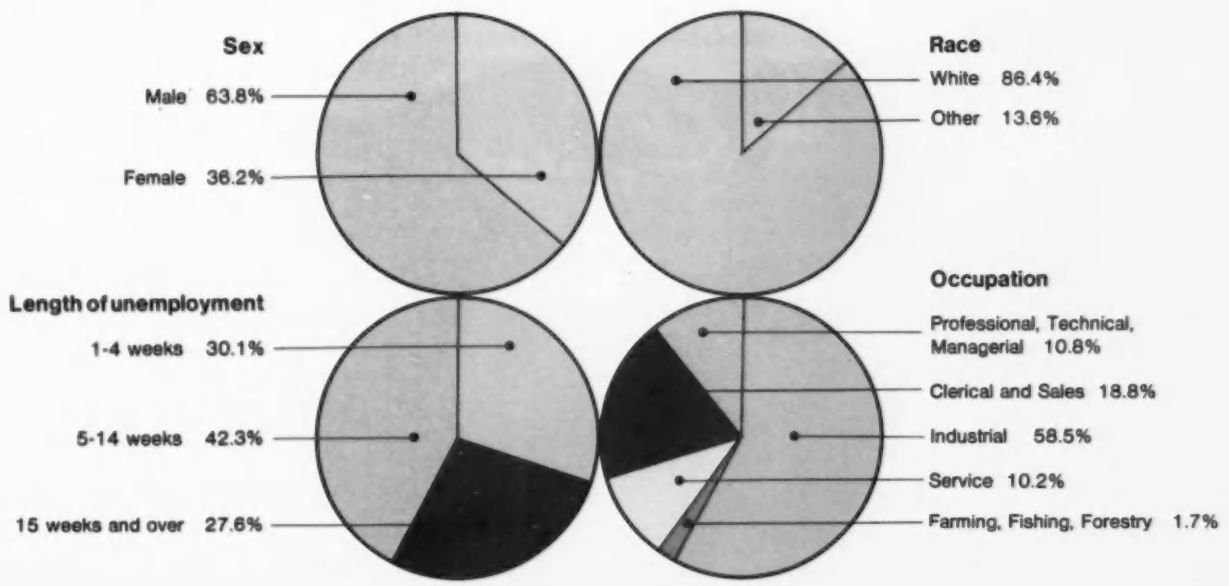
The Insured Unemployed



Perfecting Lab Skills In Them Thar Hills

by Joan Romeo

One day last winter, several young men and women dressed in jeans, hiking boots, and knapsacks strode into a clinical laboratory in Glenwood Springs, Colo. Had one of the group had a mishap? Did someone need a throat culture?

No. These enthusiastic people were medical laboratory technicians who had walked and hitchhiked nearly 30 miles to attend a new course designed to help them perform their jobs more efficiently and confidently. They were among the 471 technicians on both sides of the Continental Divide taking part in the Colorado Rural Retraining Project designed to help personnel in small towns and remote areas upgrade their laboratory skills. (By this time, the project had been expanded to include Wyoming.) Whereas in the past these workers had been cut off from new developments and trends, they now had an opportunity to learn new methods and upgrade their basic concepts.

Developed by the Colorado Association for Continuing Medical Laboratory Education, Inc. (CACMLE) in conjunction with Health and Education Resources, Inc. (HER), the Colorado program responded to a growing need for small town and rural laboratory technicians to improve their techniques on the job and to learn about innovations in a constantly changing field.

Technological changes occur so quickly in the medical sciences that even persons affiliated with large medical complexes sometimes have trouble keeping up with the latest developments. But keeping abreast is particularly difficult for technicians located in isolated rural areas because they lack easy access to large medical centers or universities offering courses in current medical developments and procedures. For the most part, it would be extremely costly as well as inconvenient for them to travel to these institutions.

Labs in rural areas and small towns usually maintain small staffs who share evening and weekend duty. If one individual takes a block of time off, it places a distinct burden on his or her coworkers. Supervisors who might otherwise encourage their employees to attend courses available in distant cities acknowledge that "we're already understaffed and just can't spare the personnel."

Even if the logistical and economic problems could be solved, a more subtle deterrent remains. To most of these small hospital and rural technicians, attending "big city" courses or conferences can be an intimidating experience. Many rural technicians have had little formal training or advanced education. They may have received partial training in the military, attended a commercial school with no hospital affiliation, or learned through on-the-job instruction after completing high

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school. Many work in laboratories that perform only the most basic tests, sometimes with outmoded equipment. Consequently, those most in need of retraining are reluctant to attend professional meetings or classes in metropolitan areas, where they are apt to encounter technologists with more sophisticated training, impressive credentials, and varied work experiences.

It may soon be imperative for most rural and small-town hospital laboratory technicians to receive some form of upgrading in order to continue their work. Under proposed revisions in Medicare-Medicaid regulations, persons employed as clinical laboratory technologists in all hospitals approved for Medicare-Medicaid payments would be required to meet specific educational standards equivalent to a bachelor's degree or 3 years of college and 1 year of professional training. Since most laboratory technicians in rural areas and small towns could not begin to meet these educational requirements, they will have to pass Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) proficiency examinations if they are to continue to do clinical tests which require them to exercise their own judgment with minimal supervision. This would affect key lab personnel in most of the 54 percent of the hospitals in the country that have fewer than 100 beds.

The examinations, which will be administered by State health departments, are difficult to pass (on the two occasions that they were administered, 69 percent failed the first time, 50 percent the second). If the rural technicians fail to make the grade, there will be a critical shortage of personnel in areas that are already severely understaffed.

Medicare regulations now apply only to employees of 3,000 independent laboratories, but they are expected to be extended to all 7,100 hospitals receiving Medicare payments. In addition, Congress is considering a new Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act (CLIA) that would establish qualifications for laboratory technical personnel. The legislation would give rural hospitals a 2-year grace period to meet personnel qualifications, with this waiver continuing if laboratory personnel pass proficiency tests. The bill also calls for periodic exams for technical personnel, to assure continued competence. In addition, individual states are beginning to focus on licensure and recertification requirements that will increase the pressure and demand for some form of upgrading.

Long before the Medicare regulations were issued in October 1974, the National Committee for Careers in the Medical Laboratory (NCCML), working under contract to the Department of Labor (DOL), began to plan for upgrading rural hospital personnel. The work was initiated by Dallas Johnson, executive secretary of NCCML until its demise in October 1975, and president of its successor, HER, a nonprofit organization with headquarters at 5690 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Md., a suburb of Washington, D.C.

Audiovisual Aids

In 1969–1970, with the assistance of the Educational Testing Service (an educational concern in Princeton, N.J.), NCCML developed proficiency examinations for the four main areas of laboratory work—microbiology, clinical chemistry, hematology, and blood banking—at a cost of $358,250 under a DOL contract. While these examinations were designed to assess the abilities of military lab personnel looking for civilian jobs, they turned out to be very useful in measuring proficiency before and after retraining on the job. Subsequently, between 1971–1974, "Listen, Look and Learn," a comprehensive audiovisual instructional series for retraining laboratory personnel at all levels, was developed by HER on another contract from DOL's old Manpower Administration, now the Employment and Training Administration (ETA), at a cost of $144,517. (See *Boning Up in the Medical Laboratory*, MANPOWER, June 1974).

This four-volume series consists of 73 tape-recorded lectures, texts, and 650 slides encompassing *all* phases of clinical laboratory work: microbiology, bacteriology, clinical chemistry, blood banking, coagulation, serology, and urinalysis. DOL then contracted with HER for $53,292 to use this material and the proficiency examinations to promote the retraining and upgrading of clinical laboratory technicians in small-town and rural hospitals which were in direst need of such help.

HER chose Colorado — where CACMLE was already doing a commendable job in Denver—for a statewide demonstration project to retrain technicians on the job in rural hospitals. A survey of possible participants revealed that there was great interest in such a course among technicians, and the project was funded by the Colorado Office of Manpower Development and Training. "We were overwhelmed by the response," said Dr. Elmer Koneman, who served as director of the Colorado project. "Our off-the-cuff estimate of approximately 50 participants in actuality turned out to be more like 140."

Because some of the replies came from individuals in larger cities, rather than in rural areas, the group was eventually scaled down to 115 applicants representing 30 rural labs and hospitals extending from the mountains to the plains of Colorado.

At the beginning of the course, participants took the written proficiency examination developed with the Educational Testing Service for NCCML to determine their individual needs. Only about 20 percent scored above the national norm.

Lab Skills

Sets of "Listen, Look and Learn" were placed in eight regionally dispersed hospitals, from which participants could borrow the taped lectures and slides they needed. In addition, there were group instruction sessions for neighboring hospitals—usually within a 50-mile radius. Participants received manuals and the texts of the lectures to study at home.

A unique feature was the circuit-flying instructors who went from Denver to mountain areas and other outlying regions twice a month to lead seminars and workshops. Including pathologists as well as medical technologist educators and other scientific specialists, these lecturers numbered over 50 by the end of the year.

The project's creative approach received a receptive and enthusiastic response.

"Those who took part were genuinely eager to learn more in their field," said Charlene Backe, project coordinator. "They were aware that big advances were being made, but they had no way of learning about them until our project came along."

Some of the small hospitals are so remote that they are not even visited by equipment and supply salesmen, who provide some input to most hospitals about changes in the field.

"It's hard to know what is being developed and what breakthroughs are taking place if you don't even see any of the literature," Backe adds.

Participants, encouraged to bring questions and problems for classroom discussion, supplied a variety of queries that made the courses stimulating and germane. Enthusiasm for the project was not limited to the students, however. The circuit-flying instructors were imbued with a sense of dedication. Certainly it was not the financial gain. Although their travel expenses were paid, they received only $5 an hour for teaching time, none to prepare for the lectures.

Even the Colorado winters could not daunt their spirits. One instructor recounts finding himself on more than one occasion "landing in New Mexico" because of snow conditions in Colorado, while another described his awe and trepidation while traveling to 12,000-foot elevations on single-lane snow-covered mountain roads to reach a teaching site.

"Places that look about 40 miles apart from the air turned out to be more than 100 miles apart over winding roads through mountain passes," recalls one veteran teacher.

By the halfway mark in the project, the indefatigable group had logged a total of 24,000 miles, the equivalent of one trip around the earth.

What accounted for this esprit de corps? Basically, a conviction that providing the isolated laboratory technicians with practical and pertinent skills was an important thing to do.

"It just stands to reason," said one medical technologist, "that better training will lead to better patient service, which is what those of us in the health service field are concerned with."

Four States Added

Midway through the Colorado project, the Manpower Development and Training Act was replaced by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Since CETA limited retraining to persons making less than the minimum wage, the project was funded by the Colorado-Wyoming Regional Medical Program, and was expanded to include additional rural hospitals. In the fall of 1975, 356 technicians in 90 rural hospitals signed up for a new course. A recent 3-year grant from HEW's Bureau of Health Manpower (a subdivision of the Health Resources Administration) will extend the program into four additional states—Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah.

At the end of the demonstration project on April 30, 1975, when a second examination was administered, the percentage of those who scored above the national norm tripled. Aside from such tangible results, the diverse instructional methods provided a variety of approaches to laboratory problems and broadened the perspective of those who participated. Technicians who had been working within a 50-mile radius of each other with no contact found themselves sharing ideas and establishing cooperation and rapport. Channels of communication were also established with the "big city" specialists. Most of the technicians felt that they had a better understanding of the work they did and felt more at ease with new procedures and terminology.

There were benefits for employers as well. The training brought about changes within individual labs that contributed to efficiency, accuracy, and improved patient service. Supervisors experienced better rapport with their more motivated staff members, many of whom are continuing to do independent reading and study.

And the instructors who drove and winged their way back and forth across the Continental Divide declared that the course "kept them on their toes," and proved to be a challenging experience.

The Colorado Rural Retraining Project is already serving as a prototype for employers who are taking the initiative to provide employees with effective ways to upgrade their skills on the job. Modifications are made according to individual needs, but the emphasis on conveniently scheduled, easily accessible, job-based training remains.

A HER survey shows that more than 346 small-town and rural hospitals which have bought sets of "Listen, Look and Learn" (current price $345) are using the tapes and slides as an essential element of their retraining programs. Aside from regular

Medical laboratory technician works at a microscope in the Colorado Rural Retraining Project.

class sessions, the tapes and slides afford technicians the opportunity to study during the slack work periods that usually occur toward the end of the day, since most doctors schedule tests in the morning. Employers report that these inservice courses yield better staff performance, more interest in the lab and the patient, and improved proficiency because of their relevance to everyday work. Practical, current, nonesoteric information that technicians can incorporate into daily duties should be the backbone of on-the-job retraining programs.

HER continues to use the experiences gained in the Colorado project to develop more programs and materials for retraining. The organization's Committee for Continuing Education and Skills Upgrading (CESU) is currently developing a new microbiology series for "Listen, Look and Learn." Funded by a grant from DOL, the package will include more audio lecture hours and hundreds of new slides.

On-the-job retraining and upgrading offer employees and employers the opportunity to work together toward mutually beneficial goals and satisfactions. Rural laboratory technicians improve skills while increasing productivity and confidence. Employers, in turn, experience increased trust and confidence in personnel and a more efficient operation. In addition, employees continue to earn salaries without interruption and no time is lost on the job.

Recent Census Bureau projections of increased migration to rural areas and small towns suggest that demands on rural hospitals for health services will increase in the future. In light of these developments and the proposed new Medicare regulations, retraining and upgrading of rural technicians assumes added importance. Retraining is really a boon to everyone—technician, employer, and patient. □

Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on employment and related matters. Single copies of Employment and Training Administration publications for which no price is indicated can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the Inquiries Unit, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 10225, 601 D St., NW., Washington, D.C. 20213. Requests for copies of other free publications listed should—unless otherwise indicated—be sent directly to the source at the following addresses: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 1512 General Accounting Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20212; Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Room S3317, 200 Constitution Ave., NW., Washington, D.C. 20210. Please enclose a self-addressed label with all requests for free publications. For publications not available free, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and enclose payment.

BLS Publications on Productivity and Technology

Bureau of Labor Statistics directory lists chronologically, under major headings for each program, publications issued by its office since 1965. It also lists a few exceptionally important publications from earlier years. Includes a short list of bibliographies as well as a list of studies now in progress for which publications should be available in the near future. A few major out-of-print publications are also included.

Guide to Local Occupational Information

Employment and Training Administration directory lists selected State Employment Service studies, bulletins, brochures, and other releases intended to provide current local occupational information for use in designing training programs, counseling in local public employment offices and schools, and offering individual jobseekers and vocational counselors concrete information on job opportunities in specific occupations or groups of occupations. The book has four sections. Part I is an alphabetical index to the guides by job titles. Part II lists occupational guides by occupational group and by occupations within that group as they appear in the "Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Volume II." Guides for the economically disadvantaged are footnoted. Spanish-language versions of guides are separately identified. Part III lists occupational guides by State, and Part IV lists occupational guidance publications covering selected industries, occupational fields, or special worker groups by States. Specify Stock No. 029-000-00260-6. $2.90.

ETA Consumer Fact Sheets

Employment and Training Administration has available 16 one-page descriptions of its major programs which give facts on how programs work, who are served, and how to apply. There are separate flyers for each of the following: Apprenticeship (ETA-9), CETA (ETA-15), Employment Service (ETA-7), Handicapped (ETA-3), Job Corps (ETA-2), Indian Programs (ETA-11), Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers (ETA-6), Occupational Information Systems Grants (ETA-16), Offenders (ETA-14), Older Workers (ETA-8), Research and Development (ETA-10), Rural Workers (ETA-4), Unemployment Insurance (ETA-1), Veterans (ETA-5), Work Incentive Program (ETA-13), and Youth (ETA-12).

Serving the Elderly

Employment and Training Administration book focuses on the income and employment needs of the elderly and describes steps a prime sponsor may take to identify members of this group during the planning process and types of services and activities particularly suited to them. It also provides a blueprint for building a senior community service employment project into the CETA system. Available from the Office of Community Employment Programs, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 5403, 601 D St., NW., Washington, D.C. 20213.

Households Eligible for a National Farmworker Program Under CETA of 1973

Report from Economic Research Service of the Department of Agriculture provides information on the 169,000 farm wage workers eligible in 1973 for a national farmworker program under CETA title III, section 303. The report was prepared at the request of the Division of Farmworker Programs of the Employment and Training Administration's Office of National Programs. It indicates the number and distribution of eligible farmworkers and their dependents by migratory status, ethnic group, earnings, and region. Specify Agricultural Economic Report 324.

A Guide to Seeking Funds From CETA

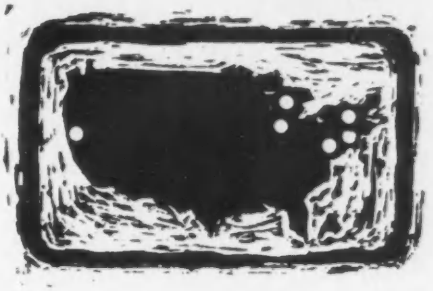
Women's Bureau booklet outlines nine major steps that should be followed when individuals and organizations apply for CETA funds. Explains what to do and why in each stage in the process—from the first step of finding out who operates the programs to the final steps of submitting applications or engaging in year-round activities. Contains a list of CETA contacts in each State, statistical information, and an explanation of terms commonly used in CETA. The booklet should be helpful to all groups involved at the community level in programs to benefit the unemployed and underemployed, especially women.

Digest of Education Statistics 1975 Edition

A 119-page book prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the 14th in a series of annual publications since 1962, provides an abstract of statistical information covering the broad field of American education from prekindergarten through graduate school. Lists information on a variety of subjects within the field of educational statistics, including number of schools and colleges, enrollment, teachers, graduates, educational attainment, finances, Federal funds for education, libraries, international education, and research and development. It should be useful to persons interested in the nature and scope of education and to individuals concerned with the formulation and conduct of educational policy. Specify Stock No. NCES 76-211. $3.30

☆ U.S. Government Printing Office: 1976—211-124/13

CETA Map



Marin County, Calif.

Some CETA clients in Marin County have received basic education, including General Education Development preparation, while others have gained valuable work experience as tutors, under an informal agreement between the College of Marin's Independent Study Center and the Marin County Manpower Program. In exchange for the educational services, which were offered at no cost to the participants or to the Manpower Program, the latter supplemented the Center's staff with tutors who were themselves economically disadvantaged CETA participants enrolled at the College.

Middlesex County, N.J.

New Direction, an innovative program in Middlesex County, aims to increase the employability of the hard-core unemployed and at the same time develop in-depth family profiles of the participants which will later be expanded to include the families' relatives and other families with similar needs.

Developed by the Middlesex County Comprehensive Employment and Training Administration in conjunction with the Middlesex County Economic Opportunity Commission, the program's recruitment efforts will focus on Hispanics, blacks, persons without high school diplomas, and other disadvantaged groups.

The initial 1-year program included 70 participants and their families. Participants were enrolled in classroom and/or work experience situations designed to develop skills and job readiness. The profiles developed during the program are expected to serve as a guide to participants' basic social needs and a basis for referral of families to other county services; they will also give the county agencies a comprehensive and concrete picture of the hard-core unemployed in the area.

Dutchess County, N.Y.

An unusual training program for Dutchess County youth was offered this winter and spring at the Vanderbilt mansion, the home of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Morgan mansion. The program consisted of on-the-job training for seven youth by experts in the art of restoration painting, a skill that is much in demand in the growing field of historic preservation.

The students learned a European method of painting that has not been used in the United States for over a hundred years. It involves the application of from four to ten coats of paint, each hand rubbed, and techniques for water-proofing and approximating the original appearance of the material. In addition to working at the historic sites, the students attended a 2-day seminar at a school of painting in Claremont.

Funded by CETA, the project was made possible by the close cooperation between the superintendent for the sites and the Comprehensive Youth Program of the Dutchess County Office of Employment and Training Programs. Plans are being made to continue it on a year-round basis.

Gary, Ind.

With the use of CETA funds, Gary plans to establish a Mini-City Hall in each of the city's council districts. These conveniently located neighborhood centers are expected to improve the relationship between the public and municipal departments involved in community service. They will be staffed by liaison officers, who will represent the neighborhoods in city hall regarding the day-to-day matters of city services and will be responsible for speeding up the delivery of the needed services and pinpointing local problems.

Suffolk County, N.Y.

The police department in Suffolk County has used a CETA title I grant to train 50 formerly unemployed, physically handicapped persons to work as emergency complaint operators in the Communications Bureau, handling emergency calls from the public. The efforts of the men and women participating in this program—which was specially designed for them—have enabled regular police officers to spend more time in the community.

Dearborn, Mich.

Operation DARE, a Dearborn project to make taxpayers out of ex-offenders by providing them with social services, counseling, and jobs, has succeeded in preventing 93 percent of its participants from returning to prison over the last 5 years.

Employment and counseling are the keys to effective rehabilitation, according to the DARE staff, half of whom are ex-offenders themselves. The project, which serves some 5,000 people, receives $277,000 in CETA funds through a contract with the Governor's Office of Manpower and Human Development and $242,000 in Illinois Law Enforcement Commission funds through a subcontract with the Illinois Department of Corrections.

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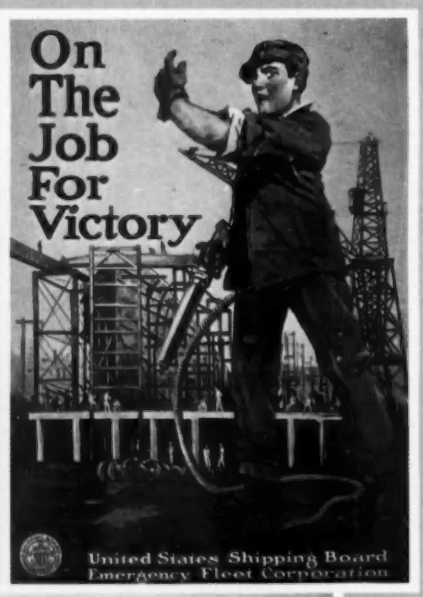

Posters called workers and housewives to join the drive for victory after America entered World War I. The homefront mobilized to fight a battle of production *When Johnny Went "Over There"*. (See page 14 of this issue of WORKLIFE.)

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